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WEBSTER'S
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AND
WASHINGTONS-FAREWELL-ADDRESS

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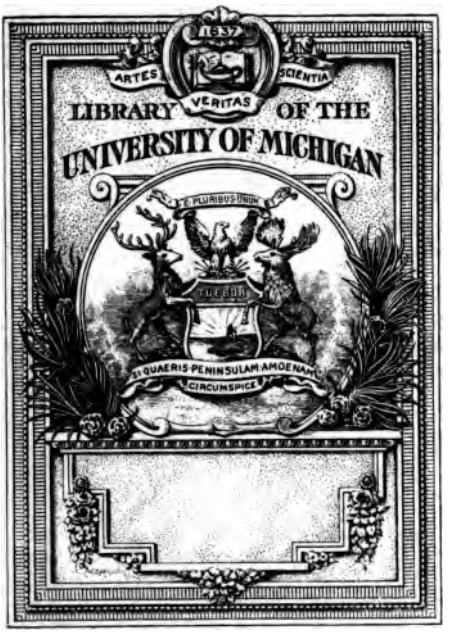

THE GIFT OF

Prof. F. N. Scott

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LONGMANS' ENGLISH CLASSICS

EDITED BY

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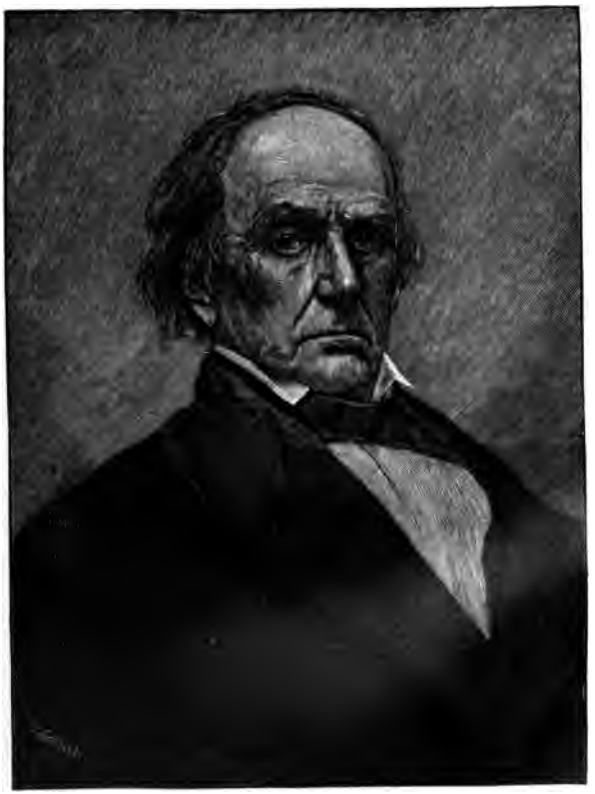
PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND ENGLISH COMPOSITION IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE

DANIEL WEBSTER

FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION

GEORGE WASHINGTON

FAREWELL ADDRESS



DANIEL WEBSTER

(After a daguerreotype)

Longmans' English Classics

Daniel

WEBSTER'S FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION

AND

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

EDITED

WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION

BY

FRED NEWTON SCOTT, PH.D.

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PREFACE

In the uniform entrance requirements now generally adopted by our colleges, Webster's "First Bunker Hill Oration" and Washington's "Farewell Address" are placed among the books which are to be carefully studied under the immediate direction of the teacher. It is with the purpose of marking out distinct lines for such study that this edition of these famous addresses has been prepared. Together with the Bunker Hill oration, two others of Webster's best-known speeches, dealing with kindred topics, are here printed, that pupils' acquaintance with Webster may not, unless it is absolutely necessary, be confined to the single oration prescribed.

F. N. S.

University of Michigan, April, 1905.

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INTRODUCTION

DANIEL WEBSTER

I. Biography

Daniel Webster was born on the 18th of January, 1782, and died on the 24th of October, 1852. We may say that his life covers one distinct period of the nation's life, for he was born in the year when Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States, and he died in the year of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the year when anti-slavery sentiment was gathering headway for the inevitable collision of the Civil War.

Of this period Webster is the great representative. There were men among his contemporaries who were better, wiser, more original, more popular than he, but there was no one in this period who in so many fields of activity, as lawyer, statesman, diplomat, and orator, can rightfully claim so large a share of our attention.

Webster's native place was Salisbury, New Hampshire. His early life was passed upon his father's farm. In 1797, with very little preparation, he entered Dartmouth College, from which he was graduated in 1801. Until he reached his junior year he gave small promise of the powers he afterward developed. We read with astonishment in his "Autobiography," that while a youth he was never able to "speak a piece" before the school. After the first two years at Dartmouth, however, he came rapidly forward, and by the close of the junior year was esteemed the best writer and debater in the College.

Shortly after his graduation, Webster entered upon the

study of the law in the office of Christopher Gore, a leading attorney of Boston. He was making rapid progress when suddenly, midway of his studies, came one of those accidents which make or mar a young man's fortunes. He was offered a position as clerk in the Court of Common Pleas, near his home, at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars. He was deeply in debt, his father was old, and the family estate, mortgaged to pay his college expenses, was heavily encumbered. "I had felt," he says, "the *res angustæ* till my bones ached." To accept the place meant comfort, a competency, and respite from the long, hard struggle. But, as Mr. Gore pointed out to him, it meant also the death of his ambitions; he would be a clerk for life. Convinced by the arguments of the attorney, he resolved to refuse the offer, and with many misgivings went home to break the news to his father. What happened may be told in his own words:

"I got home one afternoon, just at sunset, and saw my father in his little room, sitting in his arm-chair. He was pretty old then, and tall, and very thin. His face was pale, and his cheek sunken, and his eyes—which were always large and very black—seemed larger and blacker than I ever saw them. He seemed glad to see me, and, almost as soon as I sat down he said: 'Well, Daniel, we have got that office for you.' 'Yes, father,' said I, 'the gentlemen were very kind, I must go and thank them!' 'They gave it to you without my saying a word about it.' 'I must go and see Judge Farrar, and tell him I am much obliged to him.' And so I talked about it very carelessly, and tried to make my father understand me. At last he began to have some suspicion of what I meant; and he straightened himself up in his chair, and looked at me as if he would look me through. 'Daniel, Daniel,' said he, 'don't you mean to take that office?' 'No, indeed, father,' said I; 'I hope I can do much better than that.

I mean to use my tongue in the courts, not my pen; to be an actor, not a register of other men's acts. I hope yet, sir, to astonish your honor in your own court by my professional attainments.'

"For a moment I thought he was angry. He rocked his chair, slightly; a flash went over an eye, softened by age, but still as black as jet; but it was gone, and I thought I saw that parental partiality was, after all, a little gratified at this apparent devotion to an honorable profession, and this seeming confidence of success in it. He looked at me for as much as a minute, and then said very slowly, 'Well, my son, your mother has always said you would come to something or nothing. She was not sure which; I think you are now about settling that doubt for her.' This he said, and never a word spoke more to me on the subject."[1]

Admitted to the bar in 1805, he went to Boscawen, near his home, to practise; but he soon outgrew that little village, and upon the death of his father, who lived barely long enough to hear his first speech at the bar, he transferred his business to his brother and removed to Portsmouth. He now came into almost daily competition with the leading lawyers of the State, and his powers grew apace. The head of the New Hampshire bar at this time was one Jeremiah Mason, a man of great ability. He has recorded his first encounter with young Webster: "He broke upon me like a thunder shower in July, sudden, portentous, sweeping all before it." But, in his own way, Mason was as good a lawyer as Webster, and exerted a powerful influence upon him. In particular, he taught him the value of plain, homely speech. Webster at the outset of his career was given to a flowery diction, and to a manner that bordered dangerously on the theatrical. Mason was plain, simple, and direct. But it was the plain-spoken Mason who always won the suit. As Webster said, he was "a cause-

[1] Curtis: *Life of Webster*, vol. i., p. 72.

getting man." "He had a habit of standing quite near to the jury, so near that he might have laid his finger on the foreman's nose; and then he talked to them in a plain, conversational way, in short sentences, and using no word that was not level to the comprehension of the least educated man on the panel. This led me to examine my own style, and I set about reforming it altogether."

In 1817, feeling that he needed still wider opportunities, Webster removed to Boston. Meanwhile he had been drawn into the current of national politics. As early as 1804, while yet a student in Mr. Gore's office, he had published a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to Old Whigs." In 1808, in another pamphlet, he had inveighed against the embargo. But these, being anonymous, had not helped to bring their author into prominence. His opportunity came in 1812, when in the "Rockingham Memorial" he made a spirited and able argument against the war with England. The document attracted wide-spread interest, and led almost immediately to Webster's election to Congress. His rise in influence was now rapid. Some ingenious resolutions directed against the foreign policy of President Madison brought him prominently before the country, and being re-elected, he came back in 1814 the recognized leader of his party in the House. Again he made himself conspicuous, this time principally by his speeches on finance. In 1817 he tried to withdraw from politics, as he said, forever. He determined thereafter to devote himself to the law. But, for a man of Webster's abilities, this was simply out of the question. "As I was sitting in my office, poring over Mansfield and Blackstone, in the autumn of 1822, there came a committee to me. They did not look like clients. I did not believe they had any lawsuits. Thomas H. Perkins was chairman. Another of the members is now living—Mr. William Sturgis—and they stood up straight in my presence. I threw down

my law books, and they said: 'Sir, we have come to tell you your destiny. You must give up these law books. We come to tell you that, on Monday next, you will be chosen to represent the city of Boston in the Congress of the United States. We come to make no request, we come to enter into no discussion, we take no answer;' and Colonel Perkins made a graceful bow, and, with his committee, went off."[1]

Webster accepted the nomination, and from this date to the close of his life never again put off the political harness. Transferred to the Senate in 1827, he attained three years later, in the debate with Hayne, the very summit of his renown. In 1841, President Harrison called him to the Cabinet as Secretary of State, and he held over under President Tyler until 1843. The next year he was elected Senator, but in 1850 he was again appointed Secretary of State, a position which he held in 1852, when at the age of seventy, his public career and his life came to a close together.

From 1830 Webster was looked upon as a possible candidate for the presidency. He eagerly desired the nomination, and his failure to obtain it embittered the closing years of his life.

As a lawyer, Webster's name is associated with many noted cases, but with none of more wide-reaching consequences than the Dartmouth College case. The occasion of this suit was as follows:[2] The president of Dartmouth College quarrelled with the trustees and was dismissed from office. By way of revenge he went over to the opposite political party—the Democrats—and brought about the election of a Democratic legislature. To pay their political debt, the legislature set aside the colonial charter of the College, passed a bill turning the College into a State university and provided for a new board of trustees;

[1] Speech at a Public Reception in Boston, 1852.

[2] I follow here the narrative of Lodge, *Daniel Webster*, Chap. iii.

whereupon the old board, composed of Federalists, brought suit against the new board, composed of Democrats, to recover the College seal and other property. The case was carried up to the Supreme Court, and here, in 1818, Webster, on behalf of the old board of trustees, made his famous speech. As it happened, the Chief-Justice, John Marshall, was a leading Federalist. Webster took advantage of this fact, and by introducing the political aspects of the case, but doing it so delicately and adroitly that no suspicion was aroused, won the entire sympathy of the Chief-Justice and ultimately of a majority of the court. As a result Marshall wrote one of his great decisions, in which, embodying a minor point of Webster's argument, he maintained that charters granted to private corporations are contracts within the meaning of the constitution,[1] and therefore cannot be set aside by the legislature of a State.[2] By this decision more than by any other ever made, the powers of the several States were limited and those of the Federal Courts extended.

As a statesman, Webster exerted a powerful influence upon congressional legislation and public sentiment. His congressional speeches upon finance, upon the tariff, upon the Constitution, and upon the extension of slavery, were in his time, and are now, recognized as signal events in American history and substantial additions to American literature. The greatest of these speeches was the "Reply to Hayne." It was the outcome of a controversy as old as the Union itself, with regard to the powers of the several States under the Federal Constitution. Three different views had been held by political leaders, and by

[1] "No State . . . shall pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts."—U. S. Constitution, Art. I., Sec. X.

[2] The constitutional point, oddly enough, originated with the deposed president, who was thus "hoist with his own petard."

them impressed upon the public mind. According to one view, held by Jefferson and Madison, and embodied in the "Virginia Resolutions," the States are merely parties to a compact—the Constitution. In case the central government oversteps the powers conferred by the States upon it in the compact, the States, acting in unison, have the right to interfere and assert their original sovereignty. This doctrine, as set forth in the "Virginia Resolutions," was comparatively harmless, for the States were expected in taking remedial measures to act in concord; there was no thought of a disruption of the Union.[1] But by others, especially by Senator Calhoun, of South Carolina, it was given a new and an extreme interpretation. In the view of these men, each State has the sovereign right, in the absence of any higher authority, to judge for itself whether congressional legislation encroaches on its powers. Legislation offensive to the State may be "nullified" or declared of no effect within its borders. If this measure fails, the State has the right to secede from the Union. These views having been advocated on the floor of the Senate by Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, Webster spoke in opposition to them in a speech remarkable for its logic, its satire, its pathos, its elevation of sentiment—in short, for every good quality that a speech can possess. To the views of Hayne he opposed the "national" view, that the States in 1787 were welded into a nation by the adoption of the Constitution and were thenceforward one and indivisible. This view was not original with him. It was an early tradition strengthened and made clear by the decisions of Chief-Justice Marshall. It was not, indeed, the correct view, for our oneness as a nation is dependent, not upon a written document, but upon the de-

[1] This is not the common view. I have adopted here the opinion expressed by Judge T. M. Cooley, in an address on the Webster-Hayne Debate.

velopment of a national spirit. But whether it was original or not, whether it was correct or not, the "Reply to Hayne" drove it deep into the feelings and understandings of the great mass of the American people; so that the war of arms which thirty years later followed the war of words, found the sentiment of the majority upon the side of union.

At various times throughout his life Webster was called upon to make commemorative or occasional addresses. While he was yet a student at Dartmouth, in 1800, he was invited by the people of the town of Hanover to deliver an oration on the Fourth of July. Nine years later, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Dartmouth, he spoke on "The State of our Literature," giving reasons why America should be a centre of literary activity. But these and similar efforts attracted little attention. The address which established his reputation in this style of oratory was that which goes by the title of "The First Settlement of New England," delivered at Plymouth in 1820. John Adams, himself no mean orator, pronounced it finer than anything of Burke's, and he had listened to Burke. And George Ticknor, a foremost man of letters of the time and a competent critic, wrote that he was "never so excited by public speaking before in his life." "When I came out," he says, "I was almost afraid to come near him. It seemed to me as if he was like the mount that might not be touched and that burned with fire."

Five years later, with somewhat less of youthful exuberance, but with greater command of his resources, Webster wrote and delivered the "First Bunker Hill Oration." It may seem strange to some that he rated this speech, when he had finished the composition of it, as little better than a failure. The opening was not to his taste; he was satisfied with nothing except the address to the veterans. To a friend he wrote as follows:

"I did the deed this morning, *i.e.*, I finished my speech; and I am pretty well persuaded it is a speech that will *finish* me, as far as reputation is concerned. There is no more tone in it than in the weather in which it has been written; it is 'perpetual dissolution and thaw.'"[1] He was wholly mistaken. The address was not only brilliantly successful on the immediate occasion, but went through edition after edition, and was translated into many languages. If we except Lincoln's Gettysburg address, the brevity of which makes comparison unfair, the "First Bunker Hill Oration" is easily the first of commemorative addresses, ancient or modern, American or English.

A similar misgiving oppressed him with regard to the eulogy of Adams and Jefferson, delivered in 1826; and what strikes us now as most remarkable, is that he doubted the effectiveness of the two fictitious speeches which reproduce with fine dramatic effect the debates of the Continental Congress. "He was quite uncertain," he said to a friend, "whether they were the best or the worst part of the discourse." Such misjudgments, however, are not uncommon on the part of famous writers, being simply evidences of the insatiable hunger for perfection which characterizes all great genius.

"The Character of Washington," a speech in his best vein, belongs to 1832. In 1843 he gave the "Second Bunker Hill Oration," an address inferior in unity and spirit to the first—he was too old for such an occasion, he said—yet containing single passages of remarkable force and beauty. His last speech of this kind was at the laying of the corner-stone of the addition to the Capitol, in 1851.

[1] Curtis: *Life of Webster*, vol. i., p. 251.

II. Characteristics of Webster's Oratory.

The effect of Webster's oratory was due in part to his appearance and manner of delivery, in part to his ideas, in part to the language in which his thoughts were clothed. Each of these may be considered in turn.

It was Webster's good fortune that in his outward person he was as near perfection as nature permits her children to go. "His very presence," said a New England writer who had no reason to love him, "was an oration." "Mr. Webster had a natural ascendency of aspect and carriage," writes Emerson, "which distinguished him over all his contemporaries. His countenance, his figure, and his manners were all in so grand a style, that he was, without effort, as superior to his most eminent rivals as they were to the humblest."[1]

He had in full measure the indefinable quality known as personal magnetism, so that literally, by a smile, or a gesture, or by his mere presence, he could "hold children from play and old men from the chimney corner." "When he appeared in State Street, slowly pacing, with an arm behind him, business was brought to an absolute standstill. As the whisper passed along, the windows filled with clerks, pen in mouth, peering out to catch a glimpse of the man whom they had seen fifty times before."[2]

In stature Webster was not above the medium, though, with his massive limbs and stately carriage, he impressed everyone as a giant. He had straight black hair, eyes that glowed like embers under his jutting brows, and a complexion "of burnt gunpowder." His voice, we are told, was in volume and quality an instrument of marvellous perfection. "It was low and musical in conversation; in

[1] *The Fugitive Slave Law.*

[2] Parton, in the *North American Review*, January, 1867.

debate it was high but full, ringing out in moments of excitement like a clarion, and then sinking to deep notes with the solemn richness of organ-tones."[1] In his open-air addresses he could make himself heard to a greater distance than any other speaker of whom we have trustworthy information.

Upon almost all topics of public interest Webster had well-defined convictions, to which he gave in his speeches and correspondence almost daily utterance. They were in general, as we have seen, not original ideas. Nor, for a man in his position, was it necessary that they should be. "A constitutional statesman," says Walter Bagehot, "is in general a man of common opinions and uncommon abilities." Webster had uncommon abilities for using the ideas of other men, and especially for divining and expressing "common opinions," ideas held by the people at large but not yet come to utterance. As a voice for the commonalty he gave expression in his speeches to three leading sentiments: one was, Our nation has a great past which has made us what we are; the second, The Union must be maintained at whatever cost; the third, We have a sure and splendid future. By dwelling upon the first, as in the two Bunker Hill addresses, Webster did much to establish in the public mind what is termed the "historic consciousness," an abiding sense that our national life has its roots in the past and is a continuous growth. His belief in the Union amounted to a passion. "Union," he said, in the second Bunker Hill address, "has been the source of all our glory and greatness thus far, and is the ground of all our highest hopes;" and there are few speeches in his collected works in which this sentiment does not appear. His hopes in the future were as strong as his reverence for the past. He was an optimist; that is, he had the conviction that the tendency of human events is toward good and

[1] Lodge: *Daniel Webster*, p. 192.

not toward evil. He never doubted for an instant the permanence and the ultimate predominance of American ideas and institutions. The prophetic strain runs through all his speeches, and reaches a climax in his last great address, delivered but a year before his death.[1]

In style, Webster was self-restrained, orderly, and direct. Emerson says of him:

"He was so simple and wise in his rhetoric; he saw through his matter, hugged his fact so close, went to the principle or essential, and never indulged in a weak flourish, though he knew perfectly how to make such exordiums, episodes, and perorations as might give perspective to his harangues without in the least embarrassing his march or confounding his transitions. In his statement things lay in daylight; we saw them in order as they were. Though he knew very well how to present his own personal claims, yet in his argument he was intellectual,—stated his fact pure of all personality, so that his splendid wrath, when his eyes became lamps, was the wrath of the fact and the cause he stood for.

"His power, like that of all great masters, was not in excellent parts, but was total. He had a great and everywhere equal propriety. He worked with that closeness of adhesion to the matter in hand which a joiner or a chemist uses, and the same quiet and sure feeling of right to his place that an oak or a mountain have to theirs. After all his talents have been described, there remains that perfect propriety which animated all the details of his action or speech with the character of the whole, so that his beauties of detail are endless. He seemed born for the bar, born for the senate, and took very naturally a leading part in large private and public affairs; for his head distributed things in their right places, and what he saw so well he compelled other people to see also."[2]

The orderliness of Webster's mind is exhibited in his paragraphing. With few exceptions, the topics of the paragraphs are logical divisions of the theme, so that to write a list of paragraph-topics is to make an analysis of the oration. In the internal structure of the paragraph unity

[1] The address at the laying of the corner-stone of the addition to the Capitol.

[2] *The Fugitive Slave Law.*

is carefully maintained. The principal thought is usually announced in the opening sentence, and is then developed in regular and natural sequence to the close. The reader should notice, however, that within the limits of the paragraph, Webster artfully varies the construction. Excessive parallelism, the common vice of oratorical compositions, is of rare occurrence. In the "First Bunker Hill Oration," there are but two paragraphs in which parallel construction is made prominent.[1] In the remaining paragraphs it is alternated with other varieties of structure. Thus paragraph 4 opens with an inverted sentence, that is, a sentence in which the predicate comes before the subject. "Nearer to our own times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England." Then follows, in a different type of sentence, a fine example of parallel construction. "We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge." Here the parallelism, which is in danger of becoming monotonous, is interrupted by an inverted sentence: "To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest." The fourth sentence recurs to the structure of the second, though with a change of tense: "We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth," etc., but here the parallelism ceases; the closing sentence is of a different type: "No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended."

[1] Paragraphs 7 and 44.

The construction of Webster's sentences is simple and straightforward, so that an occasional complexity or subtlety attracts an undue amount of attention. The following passage will illustrate this point: "Men have seen that it (classical learning) might exist without mental superiority, without vigor, without good taste, and without utility. But in such cases classical learning has only not inspired natural talent."[1] The words "has only not inspired," which in Carlyle or De Quincey would be passed without remark, are in Webster's paragraph so different from his ordinary mode of expression as actually to arrest the reader's attention, and make him question whether he has read aright.

In the placing of words and phrases Webster is so uniformly accurate that if, now and then, he transgresses a precept of the text-books, the reader may well raise the question whether the precept is not at fault rather than the author. For example, there is a rule in most rhetorics that the word "only" should immediately precede the word it modifies. This rule is obviously violated in such sentences as the following: "It did not, indeed, put an end to the war; but, in the then existing hostile state of feeling, the difficulties could only be referred to the arbitration of the sword."[2] "Above personal considerations, above local considerations, above party considerations, he felt that he could only discharge the sacred trust which the country had placed in his hands by a diligent inquiry after real merit and a conscientious preference of virtue and talent."[3] But it is the rule which is at fault, not Webster. The usage of good writers is to place "only" immediately before the word it modifies whenever another position would cause ambiguity; in other cases its position is

[1] *Adams and Jefferson*, paragraph 62.
[2] *Second Bunker Hill Oration*, paragraph 22.
[3] *Character of Washington*, paragraph 26.

determined largely by the demands of rhythm. There is no ambiguity in the sentences quoted above. A more serious fault is the use of "but which," "and which," when there is no relative preceding, as in the following example: "You see the lines of the redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended to the last extremity by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position."[1] Yet in these cases it is clear that the words "thrown up" and "defended" are equivalent to the clause "which were thrown up," and "which were defended;" nor is there any evidence that to a hearer or reader not consciously on the strain to detect formal errors of construction, this passage has ever given the least offence.

In his selection and use of words Webster was painfully scrupulous. In purity of diction he is probably unsurpassed by any other writer, English or American. At the same time he was anything but squeamish about the origin of the words he used, and adopted freely the forcible idioms which he heard on the lips of the frontiersman. Although his orations show a large proportion of "long-tailed" words of Latin origin—as "recollections," "propensity," "obligations," "inheritance," "responsibility," "preservation," "generation," "ingenuous," "construction," "ejaculation," all from paragraph 56 of the second Bunker Hill address—he preferred short Saxon words and made a conscious effort to employ them.

Webster's self-restraint appears in his use of figures. Of bold and striking images he is in general sparing. His metaphors, in the main, are of that class which by constant use have been worn down into plain statements. Moreover, he prefers what may be called the "abstract" metaphor, in which, while the metaphorical form is preserved, no definite picture is suggested to the imagination. He

[1] *First Bunker Hill Oration*, paragraph 25.

may in this respect be profitably contrasted with Carlyle. Thus when Webster says that the French Revolution "has shaken to the centre her political fabric and dashed against one another thrones which have stood tranquil for ages," we feel the appropriateness of the figure, but have much difficulty in picturing to ourselves the shaken fabric and the jostling thrones. When, however, Carlyle characterizes this same revolution as a "whole continent of smoking flax which blown on here or there by any angry wind might so easily start into a blaze, into a continent of fire," the scene is as vivid as if it were actually before our eyes.

A peculiarity of Webster's style which is perhaps the first to strike the reader's attention, will here be considered last. His prose has a well-marked rhythm. It rises and descends in a way to remind us of the rise and descent of a graceful bird as it passes through the air. A sentence, as we read, will mount by a succession of wing-beats to a certain elevation, and then, in similar fashion, will descend gently to the close. The following is a good example of this movement in a long sentence: "These thousands of human faces | glowing with sympathy and joy | and from the impulses of a common gratitude | turned reverently to heaven | in this spacious temple of the firmament ‖ proclaim that the day | the place | and the purpose of our assembling | have made a deep impression on our hearts."[1] Sometimes the rise is in one sentence, the descent in the next; or the rise in a succession of sentences, the descent in another succession; these variations giving to the movement a peculiar character too complex to be analyzed here, which for convenienee may be called Websterian. In general this undulating movement of the sentence is wholly natural to Webster. The "long, rolling, rhythmical wave-procession" in the writing is the outward sign of a long, roll-

[1] The single vertical lines indicate the stages of the rise and descent; the double lines, the point of greatest elevation.

ing rhythmical thought-procession in the writer. But not always so. There come passages now and then when the majestic tread of the solemn period marks time without advancing. An example occurs in the first Bunker Hill address: "Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow-workers on the theatre of intellectual operation." But such passages are rare.

To beginners the temptation to imitate the Websterian movement in their orations is well-nigh irresistible. Once they have caught the trick of Webster's rhythm they fancy they have surprised the secret of his style. But he who writes successfully in the Websterian rhythm must be himself a Webster. The student whose mind is not obviously akin to Webster's mind, whose thoughts do not come in long, rolling waves, will find it best, after a few trials and experiments, to cultivate a rhythm of his own.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

I. Biography

George Washington was born February 22,[1] 1732, at Bridges Creek, Westmoreland County, in what was then the Colony of Virginia.[2] He was of English descent, his great-grandfather having emigrated from Northamptonshire in 1658. Regarding his father and mother many

[1] February 11, old style.

[2] The house at Bridges Creek in which Washington was born was burned in 1735. The family then removed to an estate on the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg.

pleasing childish myths are extant, but about all that is known positively is that his father was a busy, good-hearted planter, who died in 1743, and his mother a woman of much force of character, who lived to see her son at the summit of his greatness.

Of Washington's early life and education we have only occasional glimpses. We know that he learned to read under the instruction of the parish sexton, and that he attended a school kept by a Mr. Williams at Bridges Creek. It does not appear, however, that his early studies ever went beyond the common-school branches. When he was fourteen, there was talk of sending him to sea on a tobacco-ship, but upon the advice of his uncle this plan was given over, and George took up instead the study of surveying. In this he became so proficient that at the age of sixteen Lord Fairfax commissioned him to survey the great Fairfax estates in the valley of the Shenandoah. He performed this difficult task satisfactorily; and of the month of toil and hardship thus spent on the frontier left a terse record in his Diary.[1] The following passage from this, the earliest specimen of his original composition, shows a keenness and minuteness of observation not usual in a lad of sixteen:

"Wednesday, 23d.—Rained till about two o'clock & cleared, when we were agreeably surprized at ye sight of thirty odd Indians coming from war with only one scalp. We had some Liquor with Us of which we gave them Part, it elevating their spirits, put them in ye humor of Dauncing, of whom we had a War Daunce. There manner of Dauncing is as follows, viz.: They clear a Large Circle & make a great Fire in ye middle. Men seats themselves around it. Ye speaker makes a grand speach, telling them in what manner they are to daunce. After he has finished the best dauncer jumps up as one waked out of a sleep, & runs and Jumps about ye Ring in a most comicle manner.

[1] Published in W. C. Ford's *Writings of George Washington*, vol. i, pp. 1–6.

He is followed by ye Rest. Then begins there musicians to Play. Ye musick is a Pot half full of water, with a Deerskin streched over it as tight as it can, & a goard with some shott in it to rattle and a Piece of an horse's tail tied to it to make it look fine. Ye one keeps rattling and ye others drumming and all ye while ye others is Dauncing."

Upon his return, having been appointed a public surveyor, he worked hard at his profession for the next three years, making his surveys with such painstaking accuracy that they are accepted as authoritative at the present day.

When he was nineteen years old he went to the West Indies with his brother Lawrence, who was in poor health. His brother dying the next year, George came into the charge of Lawrence's property at Mt. Vernon on the Potomac, and some years later, on the death of Lawrence's daughter, inherited the estates.

In 1753 the trouble between the French and the English on the Ohio frontiers, which had been brewing for some time, reached an acute stage. The French took forcible possession of the Ohio Valley and began to construct forts. The British government, in great indignation and alarm, sent orders to the governors of the colonies to remonstrate against the action of the French. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, casting about for a suitable envoy to convey the remonstrance, hit upon young Washington, whose work as a surveyor and acquaintance with the ways of the frontier especially qualified him for the task. Washington accepted the commission, and with an interpreter and a few servants penetrated to the French outposts, secured the loyalty of the Indians, and sketched the forts. The return was made on foot through the forest, with a single companion, in great peril from flood, frost, and Indians. The following passage from Washington's journal pictures vividly one of his adventures:

"I took my necessary Papers; pulled off my Cloaths; and tied myself up in a Match Coat. Then with Gun in Hand and Pack at my Back, in which were my Papers and Provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday the 26th.

"The Day following, just after we had passed a place called the Murdering-town . . . we fell in with a Party of French Indians, who had lain in Wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not 15 steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him till about 9 o'clock at Night; then let him go and walked all the remaining Part of the Night without making any Stop . . . The next Day we continued travelling till quite dark, and got to the River about two miles above Shannapins. We expected to have found the River frozen, but it was not, only about 50 Yards from each shore; the Ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast Quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a Raft; which we set about with but one poor Hatchet, and finished just after Sun-setting. This was a whole Day's Work. Then set off; but before we were Half Way over, we were jammed in the Ice in such a manner that we expected every Moment our Raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put-out my setting Pole to try to stop the Raft, that the Ice might pass by; when the Rapidity of the Stream threw it with so much Violence against the Pole, that it jerked me out into ten Feet Water: but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the Raft Logs. Notwithstanding all our Efforts we could not get the Raft to either Shore; but were obliged, as we were near an Island, to quit our Raft and make to it."

"The Cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his Fingers, and some of his Toes frozen; but the Water was shut up so hard, that we found no Difficulty in getting off the Island, on the Ice, in the Morning."

The journal of this expedition, published at Williamsburg, immediately upon his return and a little later in England, gave Washington a name both at home and abroad. It led also to further commissions. When, in 1754, it was determined to send to the Ohio Valley men to defend the English possessions, Washington was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the little force, and was actually the commanding officer. What happened when

the expedition encountered the enemy, is best told in Washington's own words, in a letter to his brother:

"CAMP AT GREAT MEADOW.
"31 May, 1754.

"Since my last we arrived at this place, where three days ago we had an engagement with the French, that is, a party of our men with one of theirs. Most of our men were out upon other detachments, so that I had scarcely 40 men remaining under my command, and about 10 or 12 Indians; nevertheless we obtained a most signal victory. The battle lasted about 10 or 13 minutes with sharp firing on both sides, till the French gave ground and ran, but to no great purpose. There were 12 of the French killed, among whom was Mons. de Jumonville, their commander. . . . We had but one man killed, and two or three wounded. . . . We expect every hour to be attacked by superior force, but if they forbear one day longer, we shall be prepared for them . . . I fortunately escaped without any wound, for the right wing, where I stood, was exposed to and received all the enemies' fire, and it was the part where the man was killed and the rest wounded. I heard the bullets whistle, and believe me, there is something charming in the sound."

However, the campaign ended disastrously. After another fight a month later at the same place, in which Washington again showed a fine disregard of danger, the English were compelled to make terms and withdraw.

In 1755 came General Braddock from England with a large force of regulars, and uniting with his troops several companies of provincials, with Washington as Colonel, set out in great confidence to drive the French from the Ohio. The result was what is known in history as "Braddock's Defeat." Washington described the catastrophe in a letter to Governor Dinwiddie:

"We continued our march from Fort Cumberland to Frazier's (which is within seven miles of Duquesne)[1] without meeting any extraordinary event, having only a straggler or two picked up by the French

[1] A French fort which the English hoped to seize, at the present location of Pittsburgh.

Indians. When we came to this place, we were attacked (very unexpectedly) by about three hundred French and Indians. Our number consisted of about thirteen hundred well armed men, chiefly Regulars, who were immediately struck with such an inconceivable panic that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers, in general, behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there being near sixty killed and wounded,—a large proportion out of the number we had.

"The Virginia companies behaved like men and died like soldiers; for I believe that out of three companies that were on the ground that day scarce thirty were left alive. . . . The dastardly behavior of the Regular troops (so-called) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty, to almost certain death; and at length in despite of every effort to the contrary, broke and ran as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and, in short, everything a prey to the enemy, and when we endeavored to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild bears of the mountains, or rivulets with our feet; for they would break by, in despite of every effort that could be made to prevent it."

Braddock was so severely wounded that he died three days later. Washington escaped unhurt, though he was in the thick of the fray. "I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me," he wrote in a letter to his brother. That the army was not annihilated was due to his splendid courage and personal example in the fight, and to his calmness and prudence in the retreat.

His gallantry and his skillful handling of the demoralized troops established his reputation as the first soldier of the colonies. A month later the Assembly of Virginia, having voted money for a regiment of a thousand men, offered the command to Washington. He accepted it, and spent the next three years in tedious campaigning, learning much about the art of war and more about the difficulties of obtaining men and supplies from the colonial assembly. In 1758, however, he was with the British troops which drove the French from Fort Duquesne and

assured the possession of the Ohio Valley to Great Britain.

In an interval of this campaign Washington met and became engaged to Mrs. Martha Custis, a widow and an heiress, whose home near Mt. Vernon was known as the White House. A letter of that time, written by Washington from Fort Cumberland, has come down to us:

"July 20, 1758.

"We have begun our march for the Ohio. A carrier is starting for Williamsburg, and I embrace the opportunity to send a few words to one whose life is now inseparable from mine. Since that happy hour when we made our pledges to each other, my thoughts have been continually going to you as another Self. That an all-powerful Providence may keep us both in safety is the prayer of your ever faithful and affectionate friend."

They were married January 6, 1759.

While the campaign was in progress Washington was elected a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. Of his first appearance in the Assembly a pleasant story is told, illustrating at once his modesty and the esteem in which he was now held by his countrymen. Upon his taking his seat in the House the Speaker thanked him publicly for his efficient defence of the country. Washington attempted to reply, but broke down utterly; whereupon the Speaker said to him, "Sit down, Mr. Washington; your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

During the next five years Washington lived quietly at Mt. Vernon, devoting himself to farming and to the routine business of the Assembly. In this congenial mode of life he hoped to end his days, but the events leading to the Revolution brought him once more into prominence. Although he was related by marriage and friendship to the loyalist interest, he took sides instantly with the Colonists.

"I think the Parliament of Great Britain," he wrote to Bryan Fairfax in 1774, "hath no more right to put their hands into my pocket, without my consent, than I have to put my hands into yours for money;" and in another letter of about the same date: "I could wish, I own, that the dispute had been left to posterity to determine, but the crisis is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition that can be heaped upon us, till custom and use shall make us tame and abject slaves as the blacks we rule over with such arbitrary sway."

At the Virginia convention, called in August, 1774, to protest against British tyranny in Massachusetts, Washington spoke eloquently in the same vein, offering to raise a thousand men at his own expense and march them to the relief of Boston. By this convention he was selected as one of the delegates to the first Continental Congress at Philadelphia. The second Congress the following year unanimously chose him commander-in-chief of the Continental army. The news of the battle of Bunker Hill came to him while he was on the way to take command at Cambridge.

The seven years' campaign which resulted in the defeat of the British Army and the liberation of the colonies, belongs to familiar American history, and therefore need not be given here in detail. It is not too much to say that it is mainly the record of one man's wisdom, courage, resolution, and unfaltering purpose, in the face of apparently insuperable obstacles. It established Washington's place for all time as one of the greatest of military geniuses.

The first year of the campaign was a series of disasters. Washington was twice defeated in battle, narrowly escaping capture, and was compelled to retreat from New York across New Jersey beyond the Delaware. His men were enlisted for short terms, and left when their time was up

Many deserted. December 18, 1776, Washington wrote to his brother from Trenton:

"If every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, I think the game is pretty near up, owing, in a great measure to the insidious arts of the enemy, and disaffection of the colonies before mentioned, but principally to the accursed policy of short enlistments, and placing too great a dependence on the militia, the evil consequences of which were foretold fifteen months ago with a spirit almost prophetic. . . . You can form no idea of the perplexity of my situation. No man, I believe, ever had a greater choice of difficulties and less means to extricate himself from them. However under a full persuasion of the justness of our cause, I cannot entertain an idea that it will finally sink, though it may remain for some time under a cloud."

This marked the lowest ebb of Washington's fortunes. Within a week he had boldly crossed the Delaware and captured a thousand prisoners, and a few days later by a skillful piece of strategy, he defeated the enemy at Princeton. The latter exploit is thus narrated in a letter to Congress:

"Our situation was critical and our force small . . . On the second the enemy began to advance against us. They attempted to pass Sanpink Creek, which runs through Trenton at different places; but finding the fords guarded, they halted and kindled their fires. We were drawn up on the other side of the creek. In this situation we remained till dark, cannonading the enemy, and receiving the fire of their field-pieces, which did us but little damage.

"Having by this time discovered that the enemy was greatly superior in number, and that their design was to surround us, I ordered all our baggage to be removed silently to Burlington soon after dark; and at twelve o'clock, after renewing our fires, and leaving guards at the bridge in Trenton, and other passes on the same stream above, marched by a roundabout road to Princeton, where I knew they could not have much force left, and might have stores. One thing I was certain of, that it would avoid the appearance of a retreat (which was of consequence, or to avoid the hazard of the whole army being cut off), whilst we might by a fortunate stroke withdraw General Howe from Trenton, and give some reputation to our arms. Happily we succeeded. We

found Princeton about sunrise, with only three regiments and three troops of light-horse in it, two of which were on their march to Trenton. These three regiments, especially the two first, made a gallant resistance, and in killed, wounded, and prisoners, must have lost five hundred men; upwards of one hundred of them were left dead on the field; and, with what I have with me and what were taken in the pursuit and carried across the Delaware, there are near three hundred prisoners, fourteen of whom are officers, all British."

This piece of generalship not only enspirited the colonies and turned the tide of the war, but aroused the admiration of all Europe. Frederick the Great is reported to have said of it that it was the most brilliant campaign of the century.

The war dragged on, however, with varying fortunes for six years more, Washington struggling meanwhile with an incompetent and futile Congress, and exercising an almost superhuman patience and tenacity of purpose. But in 1781 Cornwallis was shut up in Yorktown and compelled to surrender, and in 1783 peace was at length declared.

Washington was now not only the foremost man in America, he was the most distinguished citizen of the world. His reputation abroad was, as one writer has correctly described it, "colossal." It was held by common consent that no man living had performed a more difficult task, or in performing it had exhibited greater wisdom, self-sacrifice, and nobility of purpose. When the new government was put in operation, therefore, it was only natural that all eyes should turn to Washington as the first President. He was twice elected unanimously to this office, first in 1789, and again in 1792. His administration of the affairs of government was as masterly as his conduct of the war. It was soon demonstrated that he was a born statesman as he was a born leader of armies.

By the close of his first term, grave differences of opin-

ion on certain matters of administration, especially with regard to foreign policy, had begun to appear both in the President's cabinet and in the country at large. These differences grew during the second term and led to the formation of two political parties, the Federalists, who upheld Washington's policy, and the anti-Federalists or Republicans, who opposed it. Washington, as he grew older, found the controversy irksome. He had done his work in founding the Republic. He resolved to withdraw to private life and spend his remaining years in quiet. His "Farewell Address" was written upon this occasion. It was a simple, touching letter of advice, caution, and benediction, such as an aged father might address to a young, ambitious, untried son who was setting out eagerly on the journey of life.

Washington's remaining years were passed in dignified retirement at Mt. Vernon. In 1798 a war with France seemed imminent, and Washington was summoned to the command of the army. But the difficulties were fortunately soon adjusted and the venerable leader retired again to private life.

Washington died at Mt. Vernon, December 14, 1799, after an illness of only twenty-four hours.

The character of Washington has by common consent of mankind been regarded as ideally great. In the words of Mr. Bryce: "Washington stands alone and unapproachable, like a snow-peak rising above its fellows into the clear air of morning, with a dignity, constancy, and purity which have made him the ideal type of civic virtue to succeeding generations. No greater benefit could have befallen the Republic than to have such a type set from the first before the eye and mind of the people."[1]

Aside from his personal example his greatest gift to posterity was his prophetic conception of the Republic as

[1] *The American Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 8.

it was to be. In his time the nation was a few struggling, sparsely settled colonies strung along the Atlantic coast, without proper means of communication, full of jealousies, ignorant of one another's aims, and devoid of national life. Washington with the eye of imagination saw in them the possibilities of a great and powerful commonwealth, extending over a great part of the continent, acting with one impulse and one will, and inspired by the highest motives of patriotism and humanity. He expressed this vision in words which have since become the veriest commonplaces, but which were with him the inevitable and spontaneous utterance of a burning conviction. His prophecy has been fulfilled. When we have been at our best as a nation, when national life has been highest, when our people have been truest to their political instincts, we have been what Washington wished us to be and believed we should ultimately become. This is perhaps as far as political greatness can go.

Washington's person was a fit embodiment of his character. Over six feet in height and well-proportioned, standing or riding with military erectness, dignified in his bearing and always scrupulous about his dress, his very figure was distinctive in whatever company he might be. His face to us is so hackneyed from its association with our postage stamps that we can scarcely connect it with the living man. But it impressed his contemporaries as extraordinary in its revelation of powerful passions held under the most rigid self-control. Of the effect of his presence and his reputation, amounting even to awe, one may gather an idea from an entry in Major Forman's Diary descriptive of Washington at the second inaugural: "Every eye was on him. When he said 'I, George Washington,' my blood seemed to run cold and every one seemed to start."

II. The Farewell Address

The idea of a farewell address to the people of the United States seems to have occurred to Washington in the spring of 1792, when his first term was drawing to a close. Writing to James Madison under date of May 20, and referring to his ardent wish to spend the remainder of his days in ease and tranquillity, he says:

"Permit me to reiterate the request I made to you at our last meeting—namely, to think of the proper time, and the best mode of announcing the intention; and that you would prepare the latter. . . . As the recess may afford you leisure, and I flatter myself you have dispositions to oblige me, I will without apology desire (if the measure in itself should strike you as proper, and likely to produce public good or private honor), that you would turn your thoughts to a valedictory address from me to the public, expressing in plain and modest terms, that having been honored with the Presidential chair, and to the best of my abilities contributed to the organization and administration of the government—that having arrived at a period of life when the private walks of it, in the shade of retirement, becomes necessary and will be most pleasing to me;—and the spirit of the government may render a rotation in the elective officers of it more congenial with their ideas of liberty and safety, that I take my leave of them as a public man; and in bidding them adieu (retaining no other concern than such as will arise from fervent wishes for the prosperity of my Country) I take the liberty at my departure from civil, as I formerly did at my military exit to invoke a continuation of the blessings of Providence upon it, and upon all those who are the supporters of its interests, and the promoters of harmony, order and good government.

"That to impress these things it might, among other things be observed, that we are all the children of the same country—a country great and rich in itself—capable and promising to be, as prosperous and as happy as any the annals of history have ever brought to our view—That our interest, however diversified in local and smaller matters, is the same in all the great and essential concerns of the Nation.—That the extent of our Country—the diversity of our climate and soil—and the various productions of the States consequent of both, are such as to make one part not only convenient, but perhaps indispensably necessary to the other part;—and may render the whole (as

no distant period) one of the most independent in the world.—That the established government being the work of our own hands, with the seeds of amendment engrafted in the Constitution, may by wisdom, good dispositions, and mutual allowances; aided by experience, bring it as near to perfection as any human institution ever approximated; and therefore, the only strife among us ought to be, who should be foremost in facilitating and finally accomplishing such great and desirable objects; by giving every possible support, and cement to the Union.—That however necessary it may be to keep a watchful eye over public servants, and public measures, yet there ought to be limits to it; for suspicions unfounded, and jealousies too lively, are irritating to honest feeling; and oftentimes are productive of more evil than good." [1]

Madison complied with this request, but Washington, fearing, as he said, that his "retirement might be ascribed to political cowardice," withheld the paper from publication and accepted a second term. Four years later, having resolved not to accept a third nomination, he drew up a form of address. This consisted of two introductory paragraphs of his own followed by Madison's draft, slightly amended. This paper he forwarded to Alexander Hamilton, his former Secretary of the Treasury, with a request that he "redress" it. Washington's instructions to Hamilton, given in a letter of May 15, 1796, were as follows:

"I have been favored with your letter of the 10th inst., and inclose (in its rough state) the paper mentioned therein, with some alteration in the first page (since you saw it) relative to the reference at foot. Having no copy by me, except of the quoted part, nor of the notes from which it was drawn, I beg leave to recommend the draught now sent to your particular attention.

"Even if you should think it best to throw the whole into a different form, let me request, notwithstanding, that my draught may be returned to me (along with yours) with such amendments and corrections as to render it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of; curtailed if too verbose; and relieved of all tautology not necessary to enforce

[1] W. C. Ford's *Writings of George Washington*, vol. xii. pp. 125–129.

the ideas in the original or quoted part. My wish is that the whole may appear in a plain style, and be handed to the public in an honest, unaffected, simple part." [1]

Hamilton wrote out a careful "abstract of points," or outline, using Madison's draft in full; but in August he appears to have rewritten the entire address, embodying all of Washington's ideas and suggestions, and using freely in the first part of the address the language of Madison. Hamilton's final revision was then carefully worked over by Washington, who made considerable though not radical alterations in it, mainly in the interest of simplicity and terseness. The address in its final cast is, therefore, a composite production. The substance and spirit of it, the main idea and the trend, are wholly Washington's; the language, in great part, is undoubtedly Madison's and Hamilton's. Yet so thoroughly were these collaborators in accord, and so significant and essential were Washington's alterations, that the whole may, without exaggeration, be said to be the natural expression of Washington's own personality. That he could, without assistance, have written a document of equal value and impressiveness, no one who is familiar with his other writings (especially his address to his generals on the disbanding of the army) will be inclined to deny.

In its style the address strikes the reader of the present day as stiff and formal. The diction is ponderous, and there is an almost elephantine tread in the movement of the long periods. That, however, was the fashion of the time. The men and the manners of that day, on public occasions, inclined to a solemn stateliness that we should now regard as somewhat artificial. But these formal characteristics cannot disguise the essential qualities of the style—its nobility, its sincerity, its straightforward-

[1] W. C. Ford's *Writings of George Washington*, vol. xiii. pp. 190–191.

ness, its dignified reserve. It rings true. Forty years before, Washington, writing to Captain William Peachey, said, "You are heartily welcome to make use of any letter or letters which I may at any time have written to you, for although I keep no copies of epistles to my friends, nor can remember the contents of all of them, yet I am sensible that the narrations are just, and that truth and honesty will appear in my writings; of which, therefore, I shall not be ashamed, though criticism may censure my style." A style in which truth and honesty stand out clearly cannot be a bad style, whatever may be its peculiarities of diction and structure.

SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHERS

I. The pupil's first reading of a public address should be of a kind which, for want of a better term, may be called *imaginative;* that is, he should picture the scene to himself as he goes along, calling up in imagination such particulars as the speaker's appearance, the sound of his voice, and the effect, upon the audience, of each striking passage. If the address can be read at home—and this is generally to be preferred—the pupil should be advised to read aloud. He should be advised also to finish it at one sitting, for then the impression which he carries away from it is more likely to have unity and completeness.

For reading of this kind no special preparation is required. The judicious teacher, by suggesting the circumstances under which the address was written or delivered, will endeavor to awake in his pupils some degree of curiosity. But beyond this point he will not choose to go. He will be especially careful not to forestall his pupils' impressions by elaborate criticism or to wear out their interest by unimportant details of biography. As soon as he feels that they are eager to begin, he will step aside and leave them to their instincts.

II. Notwithstanding the informality of this first exercise, its results should be carefully tested in the class-room. By requiring of the pupils brief, impromptu essays or verbal reports, the teacher should assure himself that each member of the class has actually read the whole selection, has obtained a general notion of its plan and contents, and has appreciated in some measure the peculiar qualities of

the style. The desired information may be drawn out from the pupils by asking questions like the following: What parts do you remember most distinctly? What parts do you think are the best, and why do you think they are the best? What is the leading idea of the opening? What the leading idea of the close? What is the most important idea of the whole? Does the writer prove anything? Can you see any difference between the style of Webster and the style of Irving (or of any other author that has been read)? What effect do you think such and such a passage had upon the audience? The answers to questions like these will not only reveal the spirit in which the reading has been done, but will put into the hands of the teacher suggestions for the further conduct of the course.

III. With this first kind of reading, and the testing of it, many teachers will be content. Others, at least in the case of Webster's orations, will prefer to go on to a closer study of plan and structure. This should not be carried so far, however, as to become tedious, or pursued so mechanically as to suggest that an oration may be constructed by a sort of carpentry.

In this part of the work, it is well to begin by deducing the theme or working-idea. This may, indeed, be given, but there is a distinct advantage in drawing it out from the pupils themselves, by the following or a similar method.

Selecting a number of important passages, the teacher reads them one by one to the class, inquiring after each: "What is Webster talking about in this passage? What does he mean? What is he driving at?" The answers are written upon the board in the form of complete sentences. When all have been thus written, the teacher asks: "Can't you boil these sentences down into one sentence? Isn't there some one thing that Webster is talk-

ing about through the course of the whole oration?" From the answers to these last questions it will generally be possible to educe a provisional theme. The exact theme may now be given, or, better, the pupil may be required to construct it for himself from the provisional theme by a rereading of the entire oration. To illustrate this method of instruction, let us consider briefly the fourth of the orations in this volume. In response to questions regarding the underlying idea of various passages from "The Character of Washington," the following answers might be expected: "Washington's example has had a great influence" (paragraph 6); "Washington did a great deal to establish popular government" (pars. 9, 10); "Washington's influence has extended over the whole world" (pars. 12, 13); "The principles of Washington's administration were right" (par. 17); "Washington's example will preserve the Union" (pars. 34, 35). Putting these together, pupils would probably suggest, as the idea underlying them all, such sentiments as the following: "Washington was a great man;" "Washington was a good man and a great statesman;" "Washington's example has made the whole world better;" "The prosperity of the United States is the result of Washington's statesmanship." From these a provisional theme could readily be drawn.

IV. Passing now to a consideration of the plan, the teacher should call attention to the organic character[1] of the oration—"the method of evolution—the proportions, the relations of the parts to the whole."[2] He should explain the nature of the large divisions, indicated in this

[1] "The teacher should bear in mind that any body of written English, of whatever length, is an organic unit, with principles that apply as well to the arrangement of the minor elements as to the grouping of larger divisions of the essay or book."—*Report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies*, p. 95.

[2] Matthew Arnold, *On the Literary Influence of Academies*.

volume by Roman numerals, and should require the leading thought of each division to be expressed in a brief, carefully worded sentence. By throwing all these sentences together, and using them as an outline, he should then try to make it clear that the themes of the large divisions grow naturally from the general idea of the oration. The order of divisions should be commented upon, and the pupil should be led to the conviction that their arrangement, far from being the result of chance, is a sequence demanded by the onward movement of the writer's thought.

V. The paragraphs should be studied as members of divisions. The pupil should be made to see that in a given division each paragraph belongs in the place where it is: that in that place it performs a necessary function; that if it be omitted, or shifted to another place, the unity and sequence of the division will be seriously disturbed. It is also important that the internal structure of the paragraph receive careful attention. The pupil should be made familiar with the results of recent studies of this subject, and such matters as the topic-sentence, methods of development, "massing" of the important ideas, and the like, should be illustrated until they are clearly understood and their practical importance is appreciated. Analyzing paragraphs sentence by sentence will be found a profitable exercise. To illustrate, if the second paragraph of the first Bunker Hill address is under consideration, an analysis may be made similar to the following. The first sentence of the paragraph continues the thought of the preceding sentence, and contains the topic to be developed: "It is natural that the local associations should impress us deeply." In sentences 2 and 3 these local associations are specified: "We are among the graves, we are on the battle-ground." Sentence 4 presents in obverse an idea which in its positive form is repeated in sentence 5: "The date and place cannot be made memorable (by the

monument); they are already memorable." (Compare with this the expression of the same idea in Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address": "We cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract.") Sentence 6 begins with an adversative conjunction, which seems to indicate a contrast with some preceding sentence or with the preceding portion of the paragraph; but to discover the contrasting ideas is at first a little difficult. Is the idea denoted by the word "Americans" set over against some such idea as "men of other nations," "the world at large," implied in "subsequent history" and "successive generations"? Reading the whole paragraph to get the connection, we see that this interpretation cannot be the true one. What is more likely is that the conjunction "but," instead of being a true adversative, is merely a device for indicating that the thought of the paragraph, switched off in sentences 4 and 5, has now returned to the main line. This view is rendered plausible by the sentences that follow. Sentence 7 and the first two clauses of sentence 8 continue the idea of sentence 6, giving reasons why it is natural that the local associations should be impressive. The last clause of sentence 8, drawing a conclusion from these reasons, at the same time repeats the thought of sentence 1, and so brings the paragraph to a fitting close.

VI. In the study of sentences the starting-point should be the paragraph. The character of the sentence—its length, its kind, the arrangement of its parts—should be accounted for on the principle of adaptation to its place in the larger unit of discourse.

VII. The same principle may also be applied to the study of words. A word in one of these orations is best studied as a part of the sentence in which it actually occurs. When the pupil, for example, comes upon the word

"respectable" in paragraphs 16 and 56 of the second Bunker Hill address, the teacher's first question should not be as to the etymology of the word, nor even as to its definition in an unabridged dictionary, but rather as to the idea that Webster in this sentence probably wishes to express. Let the pupil first endeavor to determine for himself the quality which Webster desires to contrast with "grandeur" in one sentence, and with "happiness" in the other. When these questions have been answered, rightly or wrongly, the dictionary will be consulted with increased interest and profit.

VIII. In the study of figures of speech, upon which in some schools much emphasis is laid, time will be spent advantageously if it is given to learning their functions and values rather than to learning their classes. The following questions will illustrate sufficiently this method of study: Why is "spacious temple of the firmament," in the opening paragraph of the first Bunker Hill address preferable in that place to "spacious firmament" or "spacious temple-like firmament"? Why, in the third paragraph of "The Character of Washington," do not the images produce the effect of mixed metaphor?

IX. The study of the author's biography, which may be pursued at the same time with the study of the orations, is most conveniently carried on as a part of the work in composition. Each student may be required to write several biographical essays. They should be written upon limited topics, similar to those suggested in the General Note (§§ 23–25), and should never be longer than two or three hundred words. In the preparation of them, pupils should be led to consult as many sources as may be available.

X. The subject-matter of the oration may, if it is thought best, be studied systematically. Instead of fitting dates to historical allusions and collecting odds and ends of information about the names mentioned in the

text, the pupil may endeavor to take stock of the orator's ideas. He may try to arrange in a systematic way the materials out of which the oration was constructed. The principles which in the course of the oration are expounded or implied may be separated from the facts used to enforce them. Webster's views in regard to patriotism, union, the relation of knowledge to liberty, self-government, and non-interference may be gathered from his speeches and stated briefly in the pupil's own words. The facts of history, on the other hand — the discovery of America, the voyages of the Cabots, the landing of the Pilgrims, the battles of the Revolution, the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine—may be arranged in chronological order in tables similar to those on pages xlix–liii of this volume. The teacher should beware, however, of turning the study of literature into a study of history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—On the characteristics of oratory and the nature of an oration the student may consult Genung's "Working Principles of Rhetoric," pp. 642–662; and Baker's "Forms of Public Address." There is an interesting chapter on American oratory in Bryce's "American Commonwealth," pt. vi, and a few paragraphs on commemorative oratory in Curtis's "Life of Webster," vol. i, pp. 190–195. The plan and the theme are treated in their details in Genung's "Working Principles of Rhetoric," pp. 420–474, and more generally in Wendell's "English Composition," pp. 150–192; McElroy's "Structure of English Prose," pp. 227–234; and Carpenter's "Exercises in Rhetoric," chapter xiii. To the structure and function of the paragraph much attention has recently been paid. Full information upon this subject will be found in the following works: Bain's "English Composition and Rhetoric," vol. i, pp. 91–134; McElroy's "Structure of English Prose," pp. 196–222; Minto's "Manual of English Prose," pp. 89–97 (in the American edition); Genung's

"Working Principles of Rhetoric," chap. xi; Hart's "English Composition and Rhetoric," chapters ii and iv; Carpenter's "Exercises in Rhetoric" chapter x; A. S. Hill's "Principles of Rhetoric" (Revised edition), pp. 230–238; Wendell's "English Composition," pp. 114–149; and in Scott and Denney's "Paragraph Writing." The analyses of Macaulay's paragraphs in Minto's "Manual" are especially to be commended. For helpful chapters on sentences and words reference may be made to the works of Bain, Wendell, Carpenter, A. S. Hill, McElroy, Hart, and Genung, and to Longmans' "School Composition." The relation of the sentence to the paragraph is treated with some fulness in Scott and Denney's "Paragraph-Writing," pp. 36–47. Baldwin's "College Manual of Rhetoric" will be found a useful and suggestive book of reference.

A method of analysis similar to that outlined above is presented in a little pamphlet, entitled "Esquisse d'une Méthode générale de préparation et d'explication des Auteurs français," by Gustave Allais (Paris, 1884). The editor acknowledges his indebtedness to M. Allais, although the pamphlet did not come to the editor's attention until after he had developed, independently, and applied to some extent in his teaching, its fundamental principles.

For books on the lives of Webster and Washington, and upon the subject-matter of the selections, the reader is referred to the General Note at the close of the volume.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

WASHINGTON AND WEBSTER.	AMERICAN HISTORY.	EUROPEAN HISTORY.	AMERICAN LITERATURE.	ENGLISH LITERATURE.
1732. Washington born, February 22.	1732. Colony of Georgia founded.		1732. Franklin, Poor Richard's Almanac.	1732–4. Pope, Essay on Man.
		1740. Accession of Frederick the Great.		
1753. First journey to the Ohio.		1753. British Museum founded.		1751. Gray, Elegy.
1754. Second journey to the Ohio.			1754. Jonathan Edwards, Freedom of the Will.	
1755. At Braddock's defeat.	1755–1760. French and Indian War.			1755. Johnson, Dictionary.
1758. Capture of Fort Duquesne.				
1759. Marries Martha Custis.	1759. Capture of Quebec.			1766. Goldsmith, Vicar of Wakefield.
	1770. Boston Massacre.	1760. Accession of George III.		
	1774. Boston Port Bill; First Continental Congress.	1765. Stamp Act passed.		
	1775. Revolutionary War begun.	1766. Stamp Act repealed.		1775. Burke, Conciliation with America.
1776. Crosses the Delaware.	1776. Declaration of Independence.	1769. Napoleon Bonaparte born.	1776. Paine, Common Sense.	1776. Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations.
1777–8. Winters at Valley Forge.		1770. Lord North becomes Prime Minister.		
1781. Captures Cornwallis at Yorktown.				

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*Continued.*

Washington and Webster.	American History.	European History.	American Literature.	English Literature.
1782. Webster born.	1782. Calhoun born. 1783. Irving born.	1782. England acknowledged American independence.		
	1787. Constitutional Convention; Northwest Ordinance.		1787–88. *The Federalist.*	
1789. Washington elected president.	1789. Cooper born; Washington elected president. 1791. First U. S. Bank.	1789. Beginning of French Revolution.		1790. Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France. 1791. Boswell, Life of Johnson.
1792. Re-elected.	1793. Neutrality proclamation; Fugitive Slave Act; cotton-gin invented.			
1796. Farewell address.	1794. Bryant born.			
1797. Webster entered Dartmouth College.	1796. Adams elected president.	1796. Burns died. 1797. Burke died.		
1799. December 14 Washington died.				
1800. Webster, Hanover speech.	1798. Alien and Sedition Acts.	1800. Macaulay born.		1798. Wordsworth and Coleridge, Lyrical Ballads.
1801. Webster graduated.	1801. Jefferson elected president.			
	1803. Louisiana Treaty; Emerson born.			
1804. Moved to Boston; An Appeal to Old Whigs.	1804. Hawthorne born.	1804. Bonaparte became Emperor.		
1805. Admitted to the bar; moved to Boscawen.				1805. Scott, Lay of the Last Minstrel.

Washington and Webster.	American History.	European History.	American Literature.	English Literature.
1807. Moved to Portsmouth.	1807. Longfellow and Whittier born.	1807. Abolition of slave-trade in England.		1807. Charles and Mary Lamb, Tales from Shakespeare.
1808. Married Miss Fletcher; pamphlet on the Embargo.	1808. Madison elected president.			1808. Scott, Marmion.
1809. Address: On the State of Our Literature.	1809. Poe and Holmes born.	1809. Elizabeth Barrett, Darwin, and Tennyson born.	1809. Irving, History of New York.	
1812. Wrote Rockingham Memorial; elected to Congress.	1812–14. War with England.	1812. Browning and Dickens born.		1812. Byron, Childe Harold, Cantos I., II.
1814. Re-elected to Congress.	1814–15. Hartford Convention.	1815. Battle of Waterloo.	1815. *North American Review* founded.	1814. Wordsworth, The Excursion.
1816. Moved to Boston.	1816. Second U. S. Bank; protective tariff act; Monroe elected president.		1817. Bryant, Thanatopsis.	
1817. Defence of the Kenistons.			1818. Irving, Sketch Book.	
1818. Dartmouth College Case.				
	1819. Lowell and Whitman born.	1819. Kingsley, Ruskin, and Marian Evans (Geo. Eliot) born.		
1820. Delegate to the Massachusetts Convention; address: First Settlement of New England.	1820–21. Missouri Compromise.	1820. Spencer and Tyndall born.		1820. Scott, Ivanhoe, The Abbot.
1822. Elected to Congress.		1822. Arnold born.	1822. Irving, Bracebridge Hall.	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*Continued.*

Washington and Webster.	American History.	European History.	American Literature.	English Literature.
	1823. Proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine.			
1824. Speech on the Greek Revolution.	1824. G. W. Curtis born; tariff act.			
1825. First Bunker Hill Oration.	1825. J. Q. Adams elected president.	1825. Huxley born.		1825. Carlyle, Life of Schiller; Macaulay, Essay on Milton.
1826. Adams and Jefferson.				
1827. Elected U. S. Senator.			1826. Cooper, Last of the Mohicans.	
1828. Mrs. Webster died; speech on the tariff.	1828. Tariff on raw materials; Jackson elected president.	1828. English Corporation and Test Acts repealed.		
1829. Married Miss Leroy.		1829. Catholic emancipation in England.		
1830. Reply to Hayne; White murder trial.		1830. Accession of William IV. of England; revolution in France.		
	1831. Garrison founded *The Liberator*.		1831. Poe, Poems.	
1832. Character of Washington.	1832. Ordinance of Nullification in South Carolina.	1832. Reform Bill in England.		
1833. The Constitution not a Compact.	1833. Anti-Slavery Society formed.			1833. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus.
1833–34. Speeches on removal of deposits from the U. S. Bank.			1834. Bancroft, Colonization of the U. S., Vol. I.	
	1836. Van Buren elected president.			

WASHINGTON AND WEBSTER.	AMERICAN HISTORY.	EUROPEAN HISTORY.	AMERICAN LITERATURE.	ENGLISH LITERATURE.
1837. Second tour of the West; speech at Niblo's Garden.	1837. Commercial crisis.	1837. Accession of Queen Victoria.	1837. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella.	1836-37. Dickens, Pickwick Papers.
1839. Visited England.			1839. Longfellow, Hyperion, Voices of the Night.	
1840. Campaign speeches for Harrison.	1840. Harrison elected president.	1840. Penny post established in England.		
1841. Secretary of State.	1841. Tyler succeeded Harrison.			1841. Browning, Pippa Passes.
1842. Ashburton Treaty.	1842. Tyler's cabinet (except Webster) resigned; tariff act.			
1843. Resigned the secretaryship; Second Bunker Hill Oration.			1843. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico.	1843. Ruskin, Modern Painters, Vol. I.
1844. Re-elected to the Senate.	1844. Polk elected president.			
	1846-48. Mexican War.	1846. Repeal of the English corn laws.		
	1848. Taylor elected president; gold discovered in California.	1848. Revolution in France.		1848. Macaulay, History of England, Vols. I., II.
1850. Seventh of March speech; Secretary of State.	1850. Fillmore succeeded Taylor; compromise measures; Fugitive Slave Act; Calhoun died.		1850. Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter.	
1852. Defeated at the Baltimore Convention; October 24, died.	1852. Clay died; Pierce elected president.	1852. Napoleon III. proclaimed Emperor.	1852. Mrs. Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin.	1852. Thackeray, Henry Esmond.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT AT CHARLESTOWN, MASS., ON THE 17TH OF JUNE, 1825

[THE earliest monument on the battle-ground of Bunker Hill was a shaft to the memory of Joseph Warren, erected in 1794 by the masonic lodge of which Warren was a member. The idea of a monument to the battle itself, until within a few years of the fiftieth anniversary, seems never to have entered the mind of anyone. The credit of this new conception is given to William Tudor, a Boston man of letters, who, if he was not the originator of it, at least by his persistence and energy did more than anyone else to bring about its realization. Largely through his efforts, a monument association was formed in 1823, and steps immediately taken for raising a large sum of money. To arouse public enthusiasm in the project, the Association resolved to lay the corner-stone on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle. General Lafayette, then on a triumphant tour of the States, gladly consented to be present and to assist in the ceremonies. Mr. Webster, as president of the association and the most notable orator in New England, was announced to deliver the memorial address.

The day, the magnificence of the celebration, the presence of the nation's guest, and the renowned orator, combined to bring together on the historic field an assemblage of unusual distinction. After the corner-stone had been laid with appropriate solemnities, the spectators, to the number of twenty thousand, moved to the north and took their seats on the sloping hill-side, facing a platform erected at the base.

It was an appreciative audience. The time which had elapsed since the occurrence of the battle was not yet so long as to destroy, even for the younger generation, the sense of nearness and reality. The fathers or grandfathers of most of them had borne arms in the Revolution. Before their eyes were forty veteran survivors, with the very

scars of the battle visible upon them. Then, too, it was a time when the press had not yet stolen outright the thunders of the orator. Men did not say to themselves on such an occasion, as they do now, "We shall get all this in to-morrow morning's paper," and turn away with a yawn. They were alive to the transitoriness of the event. They felt, as we do not, that in the presence of such a speaker they must read with their ears and listen with their eyes. They hung upon the lips of the orator with a conviction, the heritage of classic times, that what was lost then would be lost forever.

On such an occasion, before such an audience, Webster rose and opened his address.]

I. 1. THIS uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

2. If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fort-

unes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

3. We do not read even of the discovery of this continent without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

4. Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth while the

sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient Colony [1] forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

5. But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

II. 6. The Society [2] whose organ I am was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot, and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as

[1] Probably the Maryland colony, founded on the St. Mary's River in 1634.

[2] The Bunker Hill Monument Association, of which at this time Mr. Webster was president.

Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

7. We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a

spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise ! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming ; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

III. 8. We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries, are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775 ? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved ; twenty-four sovereign and independent States

erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not far the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve, the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow-citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce that leaves no sea unexplored; navies which take no law from superior force; revenues adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.

9. Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution,[1] which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the center her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed, and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun;[2] and at this moment the dominion of European power in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated forever.[3]

10. In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

[1] The French Revolution of 1789.

[2] *I.e.*, from South America, where several republics had recently been established.

[3] By the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine.

11. Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

IV. 12. VENERABLE MEN! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet: but all else how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strowed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death;—all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis,[1] its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole

[1] Boston.

happy population come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships,[1] by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

13. But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

> "another morn,
> Risen on mid noon;"

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

14. But ah! Him! the first great martyr[2] in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit!

[1] In the United States Navy Yard, situated at the base of the Hill.

[2] General Joseph Warren.

Him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage!—how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name! Our poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may molder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit!

15. But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.

16. VETERANS! you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY! when in your youthful days you put everything at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this. At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive, at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude.

17. But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons

of the living, present themselves before you. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces, when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory, then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind!

V. 18. The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, 1775, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government of the Province,[1] and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the Colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated, that while the Colonies in general would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere

[1] Transferring from the people to the Crown the right of choosing the Council, and from the people to the Governor the right of nominating the judges.

spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one,

and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared that this Colony "is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

19. But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

> "totamque infusa per artus
> Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet." [1]

War on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plow was stayed in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come, in honor, on the field; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy[2] was full in

[1] "Through all their members interfused, a mind
Quickens the mass entire, and mingling stirs
The mighty frame."
—VIRGIL'S ÆNEID, vi. 726; Cranch's translation.

[2] Josiah Quincy, 1744–1775, known among his contemporaries as Josiah Quincy, Jr.

their hearts. "Blandishments," said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, "will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined that, wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men."

20. The 17th of June saw the four New-England Colonies [1] standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them forever, one cause, one country, one heart.

21. The Battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

22. To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that

[1] Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants,[1] than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe.

23. Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me.[2] He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

VI. 24. SIR,[3] we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe[4] for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

25. Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriot-

[1] The British troops lost about one in four of their number.

[2] General Lafayette.

[3] "General Lafayette, who was seated in front of the stage among the Revolutionary officers, when particularly addressed, rose, and continued standing, till the orator commenced upon another topic."—*Boston Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, June 20, 1825.

[4] *I.e.*, at once too solemn, and too strictly devoted to a special purpose.

ism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours forever.

26. Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in cœlum redeas.*[1] Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, O, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

[1] "May it be long before you return to heaven."

VII. 27. The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

28. A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has in our time triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the *world* will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought

is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow-workers on the theatre of intellectual operation.

29. From these causes, important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits, prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

30. Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made during the last half-century in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the con-

troversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And, without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the beforementioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

31. The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.[1]

32. We learn from the result of this experiment how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great degree of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our Colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the

[1] The reference is to the violence and bloodshed which attended the revolution in France.

forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the ax was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

33. It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master-work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its

ends become means; all its attainments help to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit, the amount of ultimate product.

34. Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think, and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

35. When Louis the Fourteenth said, "I am the state," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects; it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion,[1] when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:—

> "Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
> Give me TO SEE,—and Ajax asks no more."

[1] Ajax, in Homer's *Iliad*, Book xvii.

36. We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks[1] has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greek at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

37. It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that, while, in the fullness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking to a country which is now in fearful contest, not

[1] The war of the Greek revolution against Turkey, begun in 1821 and brought to a close in 1828.

for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured that she is not forgotten in the world ; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time ; the ocean may overwhelm it ; mountains may press it down ; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

38. Among the great events of the half-century we must reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America ; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own Revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence ; they are known and acknowledged in the world ; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provisions for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations.

39. A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail ; all the great interests of society receive a salutary

impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the highest and most essential improvement.

40. When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little Colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "Continent." Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there has been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

VIII. 41. And now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

42. We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing condition, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and

the duty incumbent on us is, to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

43. These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief, that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The *principle* of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

44. And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement.

In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever!

THE COMPLETION OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED ON BUNKER HILL, ON THE 17TH OF JUNE, 1843, ON THE OCCASION OF THE COMPLETION OF THE MONUMENT

[SEVENTEEN years after the laying of the corner-stone, Bunker Hill Monument was completed. At the celebration, the succeeding year, Mr. Webster was again requested to deliver the address. The scene is thus described by Mr. Plumer: "I attended the Bunker Hill celebration on the 17th. . . . I never before saw so many people together, and probably never shall again—a hundred thousand human beings—some say twice that number—all intent on one object, all pleased and giving pleasure, happy themselves, and making others happy. I was in the crowd, on my feet, but near enough not only to hear the oration of Webster, but to see the flash of his large black eye, and observe the movements of his face as well as of his body. The discourse was worthy of the man and of the occasion, each highest of its kind. Webster bears on his body the marks of labor and of age. When I spoke to him next day of his address, he said he was too old for such an occasion. I told him that nobody else thought him so. Compared, however, with the discourse on laying the corner-stone of the monument, eighteen years ago, it may be remarked that, with less brilliancy, it has more thought; with equal force, less imagination; with a wider experience, a less moving eloquence. There are, however, even in this latter respect, some very effective passages in the present address. That in which the monument itself is spoken of as the great orator of the day, and that in which its connection with the union of the States is represented, produced upon the audience the most thrilling effect. The heart of that mighty multitude beat, as if by one mighty impulse in lofty and patriotic emotion, proud and magnanimous, yet obedient to the will and the motion, the words and the action, of the mighty master. . . . The great mass of the people were on their feet,

standing still, with all eyes intent upon the speaker; but every now and then the whole mass was in motion, moving backward and forward, each man over a space of some two or three feet, and these tides, irregular in their access, seemed yet connected with the orator, and responsive to his action on the minds of his hearers."—Quoted in Curtis's Life of Webster, vol. i., p. 608.]

I. 1. A DUTY has been performed. A work of gratitude and patriotism is completed. This structure, having its foundations in soil which drank deep of early Revolutionary blood, has at length reached its destined height, and now lifts its summit to the skies.

2. We have assembled to celebrate the accomplishment of this undertaking, and to indulge afresh in the recollection of the great event which it is designed to commemorate. Eighteen years, more than half the ordinary duration of a generation of mankind, have elapsed since the corner-stone of this monument was laid. The hopes of its projectors rested on voluntary contributions, private munificence, and the general favor of the public. These hopes have not been disappointed. Donations have been made by individuals, in some cases of large amount, and smaller sums have been contributed by thousands. All who regard the object itself as important, and its accomplishment, therefore, as a good attained, will entertain sincere respect and gratitude for the unwearied efforts of the successive presidents, boards of directors, and committees of the Association which has had the general control of the work. The architect, equally entitled to our thanks and commendation, will find other reward, also, for his labor and skill, in the beauty and elegance of the obelisk itself, and the distinction which, as a work of art, it confers upon him.

3. At a period when the prospects of further progress in the undertaking were gloomy and discouraging, the Mechanic Association, by a most praiseworthy and vigorous

effort, raised new funds for carrying it forward, and saw them applied with fidelity, economy, and skill. It is a grateful duty to make public acknowledgments of such timely and efficient aid.

4. The last effort and the last contribution were from a different source. Garlands of grace and elegance were destined to crown a work which had its commencement in manly patriotism. The winning power of the sex addressed itself to the public, and all that was needed to carry the monument to its proposed height, and to give to it its finish, was promptly supplied. The mothers and the daughters of the land contributed thus, most successfully, to whatever there is of beauty in the monument itself, or whatever of utility and public benefit and gratification there is in its completion.[1]

5. Of those with whom the plan originated of erecting on this spot a monument worthy of the event to be commemorated, many are now present; but others, alas! have themselves become subjects of monumental inscription. William Tudor, an accomplished scholar, a distinguished writer, a most amiable man, allied both by birth and sentiment to the patriots of the Revolution, died while on public service abroad, and now lies buried in a foreign land. William Sullivan, a name fragrant of Revolutionary merit, and of public service and public virtue, who himself partook in a high degree of the respect and confidence of the community, and yet was always most loved where best known, has also been gathered to his fathers. And last, George Blake, a lawyer of learning and eloquence, a man of wit and of talent, of social qualities the most agreeable and fascinating, and of gifts which enabled him to exercise large sway over public assemblies, has closed his human career. I know that in the crowds before me

[1] Referring to a fair held by the women of Boston, in Faneuil Hall, to raise money for completing the monument.

there are those from whose eyes tears will flow at the mention of these names. But such mention is due to their general character, their public and private virtues, and especially, on this occasion, to the spirit and zeal with which they entered into the undertaking which is now completed.

6. I have spoken only of those who are no longer numbered with the living. But a long life, now drawing towards its close, always distinguished by acts of public spirit, humanity, and charity, forming a character which has already become historical, and sanctified by public regard and the affection of friends, may confer even on the living the proper immunity[1] of the dead, and be the fit subject of honorable mention and warm commendation. Of the early projectors of the design of this monument, one of the most prominent, the most zealous, and the most efficient, is Thomas H. Perkins. It was beneath his ever hospitable roof that those whom I have mentioned, and others yet living and now present, having assembled for the purpose, adopted the first step towards erecting a monument on Bunker Hill. Long may he remain, with unimpaired faculties, in the wide field of his usefulness! His charities have distilled like the dews of heaven; he has fed the hungry, and clothed the naked; he has given sight to the blind; and for such virtues there is a reward on high of which all human memorials, all language of brass and stone, are but humble types and attempted imitations.

7. Time and nature have had their course, in diminishing the number of those whom we met here on the 17th of June, 1825. Most of the Revolutionary characters then present have since deceased; and Lafayette sleeps in his native land. Yet the name and blood of Warren are with us; the kindred of Putnam are also here; and near me, universally beloved for his character and his virtues, and

[1] In the sense of "prerogative," not of "exemption."

now venerable for his years, sits the son of the noble-hearted and daring Prescott. Gideon Foster of Danvers, Enos Reynolds of Boxford, Phineas Johnson, Robert Andrews, Elijah Dresser, Josiah Cleaveland, Jesse Smith, Philip Bagley, Needham Maynard, Roger Plaisted, Joseph Stephens, Nehemiah Porter, and James Harvey, who bore arms for their country either at Concord and Lexington, on the 19th of April, or on Bunker Hill, all now far advanced in age, have come here to-day, to look once more on the field where their valor was proved, and to receive a hearty outpouring of our respect.

8. They have long outlived the troubles and dangers of the Revolution; they have outlived the evils arising from the want of a united and efficient government; they have outlived the menace of imminent dangers to the public liberty; they have outlived nearly all their contemporaries; but they have not outlived, they cannot outlive, the affectionate gratitude of their country. Heaven has not allotted to this generation an opportunity of rendering high services, and manifesting strong personal devotion, such as they rendered and manifested, and in such a cause as that which roused the patriotic fires of their youthful breasts, and nerved the strength of their arms. But we may praise what we cannot equal, and celebrate actions which we were not born to perform. *Pulchrum est benefacere reipublicæ, etiam benedicere haud absurdum est.*[1]

II. 9. The Bunker Hill Monument is finished. Here it stands. Fortunate in the high natural eminence on which it is placed, higher, infinitely higher in its objects and purpose, it rises over the land and over the sea; and, visible, at their homes, to three hundred thousand of the people of Massachusetts, it stands a memorial of the last,

[1] "It is becoming to act well for the republic; to speak well of it even is not discreditable."—Sallust, *De Conjur. Catilinæ*, iii.

and a monitor to the present and to all succeeding generations. I have spoken of the loftiness of its purpose. If it had been without any other design than the creation of a work of art, the granite of which it is composed would have slept in its native bed. It has a purpose, and that purpose gives it its character. That purpose enrobes it with dignity and moral grandeur. That well-known purpose it is which causes us to look up to it with a feeling of awe. It is itself the orator of this occasion. It is not from my lips, it could not be from any human lips, that that strain of eloquence is this day to flow most competent to move and excite the vast multitudes around me. The powerful speaker stands motionless before us.[1] It is a plain shaft. It bears no inscriptions, fronting to the rising sun, from which the future antiquary shall wipe the dust. Nor does the rising sun cause tones of music to issue from its summit. But at the rising of the sun, and at the setting of the sun, in the blaze of noonday, and beneath the milder effulgence of lunar light; it looks, it speaks, it acts, to the full comprehension of every American mind, and the awakening of glowing enthusiasm in every American heart. Its silent, but awful utterance; its deep pathos, as it brings to our contemplation the 17th of June, 1775, and the consequences which have resulted to us, to our country, and to the world, from the events of

[1] "I was one of that vast throng, gathered at Bunker Hill, which saw Webster raise his outstretched arm up to the newly completed monument, and heard him say: 'It is not from my lips—it could not be from any lips—that the stream of eloquence is this day to flow, most competent to move and excite this vast multitude around me. *The powerful speaker stands motionless before us.*' I felt the thrill which ran through that vast audience, and I saw their uplifted eyes and blanched cheeks, and joined in that responsive shout which told, as no words could tell, that we had heard one of the most perfect passages in all oratory."—Judge Mellen Chamberlain, in the *Century Magazine*, vol. xxiv., p. 711.

that day, and which we know must continue to rain influence on the destinies of mankind to the end of time; the elevation with which it raises us high above the ordinary feelings of life, surpass all that the study of the closet, or even the inspiration of genius, can produce. To-day it speaks to us. Its future auditories will be the successive generations of men as they rise up before it and gather around it. Its speech will be of patriotism and courage; of civil and religious liberty; of free government; of the moral improvement and elevation of mankind; and of the immortal memory of those who, with heroic devotion, have sacrificed their lives for their country.

10. In the older world, numerous fabrics still exist, reared by human hands, but whose object has been lost in the darkness of ages. They are now monuments of nothing but the labor and skill which constructed them.

11. The mighty pyramid itself, half buried in the sands of Africa, has nothing to bring down and report to us, but the power of kings and the servitude of the people. If it had any purpose beyond that of a mausoleum, such purpose has perished from history and from tradition. If asked for its moral object, its admonition, its sentiment, its instruction to mankind, or any high end in its erection, it is silent; silent as the millions which lie in the dust at its base, and in the catacombs which surround it. Without a just moral object, therefore, made known to man, though raised against the skies, it excites only conviction of power, mixed with strange wonder. But if the civilization of the present race of men, founded, as it is, in solid science, the true knowledge of nature, and vast discoveries in art, and which is elevated and purified by moral sentiment and by the truths of Christianity, be not destined to destruction before the final termination of human existence on earth, the object and purpose of this edifice will be known till that hour shall come. And even if civiliza-

tion should be subverted, and the truths of the Christian religion obscured by a new deluge of barbarism, the memory of Bunker Hill and the American Revolution will still be elements and parts of the knowledge which shall be possessed by the last man to whom the light of civilization and Christianity shall be extended.

III. 12. This celebration is honored by the presence of the chief executive magistrate of the Union.[1] An occasion so national in its object and character, and so much connected with that Revolution from which the government sprang at the head of which he is placed, may well receive from him this mark of attention and respect. Well acquainted with Yorktown,[2] the scene of the last great military struggle of the Revolution, his eye now surveys the field of Bunker Hill, the theatre of the first of those important conflicts. He sees where Warren fell, where Putnam and Prescott, and Stark, and Knowlton, and Brooks fought. He beholds the spot where a thousand trained soldiers of England were smitten to the earth, in the first effort of revolutionary war, by the arm of a bold and determined yeomanry, contending for liberty and their country. And while all assembled here entertain towards him sincere personal good wishes and the high respect due to his elevated office and station, it is not to be doubted that he enters, with true American feeling, into the patriotic enthusiasm kindled by the occasion which animates the multitudes that surround him.

13. His Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth, the Governor of Rhode Island, and the other distinguished public men whom we have the honor to receive as visitors and guests to-day, will cordially unite in a celebration connected with the great event of the Revolutionary War.

[1] President Tyler.

[2] Because he was born not very far from that city.

14. No name in the history of 1775 and 1776 is more distinguished than that borne by an ex-president of the United States,[1] whom we expected to see here, but whose ill health prevents his attendance. Whenever popular rights were to be asserted, an Adams was present; and when the time came for the formal Declaration of Independence, it was the voice of an Adams that shook the halls of Congress. We wish we could have welcomed to us this day the inheritor of Revolutionary blood, and the just and worthy representative of high Revolutionary names, merit, and services.

15. Banners and badges, processions and flags, announce to us, that amidst this uncounted throng are thousands of natives of New England now residents in other States. Welcome, ye kindred names, with kindred blood! From the broad savannas of the South, from the newer regions of the West, from amidst the hundreds of thousands of men of Eastern origin who cultivate the rich valley of the Genesee, or live along the chain of the Lakes, from the mountains of Pennsylvania, and from the thronged cities of the coast, welcome, welcome! Wherever else you may be strangers, here you are all at home. You assemble at this shrine of liberty, near the family altars at which your earliest devotions were paid to Heaven; near to the temples of worship first entered by you, and near to the schools and colleges in which your education was received. You come hither with a glorious ancestry of liberty. You bring names which are on the rolls of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. You come, some of you, once more to be embraced by an aged Revolutionary father, or to receive another, perhaps a last, blessing, bestowed in love and tears, by a mother, yet surviving to witness and to enjoy your prosperity and happiness.

16. But if family associations and the recollections of the

[1] John Quincy Adams.

past bring you hither with greater alacrity, and mingle with your greeting much of local attachment and private affection, greeting also be given, free and hearty greeting, to every American citizen who treads this sacred soil with patriotic feeling, and respires with pleasure in an atmosphere perfumed with the recollections of 1775! This occasion is respectable, nay, it is grand, it is sublime, by the nationality of its sentiment. Among the seventeen millions of happy people who form the American community, there is not one who has not an interest in this monument, as there is not one that has not a deep and abiding interest in that which it commemorates.

17. Woe betide the man who brings to this day's worship feeling less than wholly American! Woe betide the man who can stand here with the fires of local resentments burning, or the purpose of fomenting local jealousies and the strifes of local interests festering and rankling in his heart! Union, established in justice, in patriotism, and the most plain and obvious common interest,—union, founded on the same love of liberty, cemented by blood shed in the same common cause,—union has been the source of all our glory and greatness thus far, and is the ground of all our highest hopes. This column stands on Union. I know not that it might not keep its position if the American Union, in the mad conflict of human passions, and in the strife of parties and factions, should be broken up and destroyed. I know not that it would totter and fall to the earth, and mingle its fragments with the fragments of Liberty and the Constitution, when State should be separated from State, and faction and dismemberment obliterate forever all the hopes of the founders of our republic, and the great inheritance of their children. It might stand. But who, from beneath the weight of mortification and shame that would oppress him, could look up to behold it? Whose eyeballs would not be seared by such a spectacle?

For my part, should I live to such a time, I shall avert my eyes from it forever.

IV. 18. It is not as a mere military encounter of hostile armies, that the battle of Bunker Hill presents its principal claim to attention. Yet, even as a mere battle, there were circumstances attending it extraordinary in character, and entitling it to peculiar distinction. It was fought on this eminence; in the neighborhood of yonder city; in the presence of many more spectators than there were combatants in the conflict. Men, women, and children, from every commanding position, were gazing at the battle, and looking for its results with all the eagerness natural to those who knew that the issue was fraught with the deepest consequences to themselves personally, as well as to their country. Yet on the 16th of June, 1775, there was nothing around this hill but verdure and culture.[1] There was, indeed, the note of awful preparation in Boston. There was the Provincial army at Cambridge, with its right flank resting on Dorchester, and its left on Chelsea. But here all was peace. Tranquillity reigned around. On the 17th everything was changed. On this eminence had arisen, in the night, a redoubt, built by Prescott, and in which he held command. Perceived by the enemy at dawn, it was immediately cannonaded from the floating batteries in the river, and from the opposite shore. And then ensued the hurried movement in Boston, and soon the troops of Britain embarked in the attempt to dislodge the Colonists. In an hour everything indicated an immediate and bloody conflict. Love of liberty on one side, proud defiance of rebellion on the other, hopes and fears, and courage and daring, on both sides, animated the hearts of the combatants as they hung on the edge of battle.

19. I suppose it would be difficult, in a military point of

[1] Cultivated fields.

view, to ascribe to the leaders on either side any just motive for the engagement which followed. On the one hand, it could not have been very important to the Americans to attempt to hem the British within the town, by advancing one single post a quarter of a mile; while, on the other hand, if the British found it essential to dislodge the American troops, they had it in their power at no expense of life. By moving up their ship and batteries, they could have completely cut off all communication with the mainland over the Neck, and the forces in the redoubt would have been reduced to a state of famine in forty-eight hours.

20. But that was not the day for any such consideration on either side! Both parties were anxious to try the strength of their arms. The pride of England would not permit the rebels, as she termed them, to defy her to the teeth; and, without for a moment calculating the cost, the British general determined to destroy the fort immediately. On the other side, Prescott and his gallant followers longed and thirsted for a decisive trial of strength and of courage. They wished a battle, and wished it at once. And this is the true secret of the movements on this hill.

21. I will not attempt to describe that battle. The cannonading; the landing of the British; their advance; the coolness with which the charge was met; the repulse; the second attack; the second repulse; the burning of Charlestown; and finally the closing assault, and the slow retreat of the Americans,—the history of all these is familiar.

22. But the consequences of the battle of Bunker Hill were greater than those of any ordinary conflict, although between armies of far greater force, and terminating with more immediate advantage on the one side or the other. It was the first great battle of the Revolution; and not only the first blow, but the blow which determined the

contest. It did not, indeed, put an end to the war, but, in the then existing hostile state of feeling, the difficulties could only be referred to the arbitration of the sword. And one thing is certain; that after the New-England troops had shown themselves able to face and repulse the regulars, it was decided that peace never could be established, but upon the basis of the independence of the Colonies. When the sun of that day went down, the event of Independence was no longer doubtful. In a few days Washington heard of the battle, and he inquired if the militia had stood the fire of the regulars. When told that they had not only stood that fire, but reserved their own till the enemy was within eight rods, and then poured it in with tremendous effect, "Then," exclaimed he, "the liberties of the country are safe!"

23. The consequences of this battle were just of the same importance as the Revolution itself.

24. If there was nothing of value in the principles of the American Revolution, then there is nothing valuable in the battle of Bunker Hill and its consequences. But if the Revolution was an era in the history of man favorable to human happiness, if it was an event which marked the progress of man all over the world from despotism to liberty, then this monument is not raised without cause. Then the battle of Bunker Hill is not an event undeserving celebrations, commemorations, and rejoicings, now and in all coming times.

V. 25. What, then, is the true and peculiar principle of the American Revolution, and of the systems of government which it has confirmed and established? The truth is, that the American Revolution was not caused by the instantaneous discovery of principles of government before unheard of, or the practical adoption of political ideas such as had never before entered into the minds of men. It was

but the full development of principles of government, forms of society, and political sentiments, the origin of all which lay back two centuries in English and American history.

26. The discovery of America, its colonization by the nations of Europe, the history and progress of the colonies, from their establishment to the time when the principal of them threw off their allegiance to the respective states by which they had been planted, and founded governments of their own, constitute one of the most interesting portions of the annals of man. These events occupied three hundred years; during which period civilization and knowledge made steady progress in the Old World; so that Europe, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, had become greatly changed from that Europe which began the colonization of America at the close of the fifteenth, or the commencement of the sixteenth. And what is most material to my present purpose is, that in the progress of the first of these centuries, that is to say, from the discovery of America to the settlements of Virginia and Massachusetts, political and religious events took place which most materially affected the state of society and the sentiments of mankind, especially in England and in parts of Continental Europe. After a few feeble and unsuccessful efforts by England, under Henry the Seventh, to plant colonies in America,[1] no designs of that kind were prosecuted for a long period, either by the English Government or any of its subjects. Without inquiring into the causes of this delay, its consequences are sufficiently clear and striking. England, in this lapse of a century, unknown to herself, but under the providence of God and the influence of events, was fitting herself for the work of colonizing North America, on such principles and by such men, as should spread the English name and English blood, in time, over

[1] Resulting in the voyages and discoveries of the Cabots.

a great portion of the Western hemisphere. The commercial spirit was greatly fostered by several laws passed in the reign of Henry the Seventh; and in the same reign encouragement was given to arts and manufactures in the eastern counties, and some not unimportant modifications of the feudal system took place by allowing the breaking of entails.[1] These and other measures, and other occurrences, were making way for a new class of society to emerge, and show itself, in a military and feudal age; a middle class, between the barons or great landholders and the retainers of the crown, on the one side, and the tenants of the crown and barons, and agricultural and other laborers, on the other side. With the rise and growth of this new class of society, not only did commerce and the arts increase, but better education, a greater degree of knowledge, juster notions of the true ends of government, and sentiments favorable to civil liberty, began to spread abroad, and become more and more common. But the plants springing from these seeds were of slow growth. The character of English society had indeed begun to undergo a change; but changes of national character are ordinarily the work of time. Operative causes were, however, evidently in existence, and sure to produce, ultimately, their proper effect. From the accession of Henry the Seventh to the breaking out of the civil wars, England enjoyed much greater exemption from war, foreign and domestic, than for a long period before, and during the controversy between the houses of York and Lancaster.[2] These years of peace were favorable to commerce and the arts. Commerce and the arts augmented general and individual

[1] An entailed estate cannot be sold; it descends perpetually to specified heirs.

[2] This controversy, known as the War of the Roses, began in 1455 and closed with the accession of Henry the Seventh in 1485. The civil wars did not begin until 1642.

knowledge; and knowledge is the only fountain, both of the love and the principles of human liberty.

27. Other powerful causes soon came into active play. The Reformation of Luther broke out, kindling up the minds of men afresh, leading to new habits of thought, and awakening in individuals energies before unknown even to themselves. The religious controversies of this period changed society, as well as religion; indeed, it would be easy to prove, if this occasion were proper for it, that they changed society to a considerable extent, where they did not change the religion of the state. They changed man himself, in his modes of thought, his consciousness of his own powers, and his desire of intellectual attainment. The spirit of commercial and foreign adventure, therefore, on the one hand, which had gained so much strength and influence since the time of the discovery of America, and, on the other, the assertion and maintenance of religious liberty, having their source indeed in the Reformation, but continued, diversified, and constantly strengthened by the subsequent divisions of sentiment and opinion among the Reformers themselves, and this love of religious liberty drawing after it or bringing along with it, as it always does, an ardent devotion to the principle of civil liberty also, were the powerful influences under which character was formed and men trained, for the great work of introducing English civilization, English law, and, what is more than all, Anglo-Saxon blood, into the wilderness of North America. Raleigh and his companions may be considered as the creatures, principally, of the first of these causes. High-spirited, full of the love of personal adventure, excited, too, in some degree, by the hopes of sudden riches from the discovery of mines of the precious metals, and not unwilling to diversify the labors of settling a colony with occasional cruising against the Spaniards in the West Indian seas, they crossed and recrossed the ocean,

with a frequency which surprises us, when we consider the state of navigation, and which evinces a most daring spirit.

28. The other cause peopled New England. The Mayflower sought our shores under no high-wrought spirit of commercial adventure, no love of gold, no mixture of purpose warlike or hostile to any human being. Like the dove from the ark, she had put forth only to find rest. Solemn supplications on the shore of the sea, in Holland, had invoked for her, at her departure, the blessings of Providence. The stars which guided her were the unobscured constellations of civil and religious liberty. Her deck was the altar of the living God. Fervent prayers on bended knees, mingled, morning and evening, with the voices of ocean and the sighing of the wind in her shrouds. Every prosperous breeze, which, gently swelling her sails, helped the Pilgrims onward in their course, awoke new anthems of praise; and when the elements were wrought into fury, neither the tempest, tossing their fragile bark like a feather, nor the darkness and howling of the midnight storm, ever disturbed, in man or woman, the firm and settled purpose of their souls, to undergo all, and to do all, that the meekest patience, the boldest resolution, and the highest trust in God could enable human beings to suffer or to perform.

29. Some differences may, doubtless, be traced at this day between the descendants of the early colonists of Virginia and those of New England, owing to the different influences and different circumstances under which the respective settlements were made; but only enough to create a pleasing variety in the midst of a general family resemblance.

"Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen; qualem decet esse sororum."[1]

[1] "The features are not the same in all, nor yet are they different; they are such as sisters ought to have."—Ovid, *Met.*, ii., 13.

But the habits, sentiments, and objects of both soon became modified by local causes, growing out of their condition in the New World; and as this condition was essentially alike in both, and as both at once adopted the same general rules and principles of English jurisprudence, and became accustomed to the authority of representative bodies, these differences gradually diminished. They disappeared by the progress of time, and the influence of intercourse. The necessity of some degree of union and coöperation to defend themselves against the savage tribes, tended to excite in them mutual respect and regard. They fought together in the wars against France. The great and common cause of the Revolution bound them to one another by new links of brotherhood; and at length the present constitution of government united them happily and gloriously, to form the great republic of the world, and bound up their interests and fortunes, till the whole earth sees that there is now for them, in present possession as well as in future hope, but "One Country, One Constitution, and One Destiny."

30. The colonization of the tropical region, and the whole of the southern parts of the continent, by Spain and Portugal, was conducted on other principles, under the influence of other motives, and followed by far different consequences. From the time of its discovery, the Spanish Government pushed forward its settlements in America, not only with vigor, but with eagerness; so that long before the first permanent English settlement had been accomplished in what is now the United States, Spain had conquered Mexico, Peru, and Chili, and stretched her power over nearly all the territory she ever acquired on this continent. The rapidity of these conquests is to be ascribed in a great degree to the eagerness, not to say the rapacity, of those numerous bands of adventurers who were stimulated by individual interests and private hopes to subdue

immense regions, and take possession of them in the name of the Crown of Spain. The mines of gold and silver were the incitements to these efforts, and accordingly settlements were generally made, and Spanish authority established immediately on the subjugation of territory, that the native population might be set to work by their new Spanish masters in the mines. From these facts, the love of gold—gold not produced by industry, nor accumulated by commerce, but gold dug from its native bed in the bowels of the earth, and that earth ravished from its rightful possessors by every possible degree of enormity, cruelty, and crime—was long the governing passion in Spanish wars and Spanish settlements in America. Even Columbus himself did not wholly escape the influence of this base motive. In his early voyages we find him passing from island to island, inquiring everywhere for gold; as if God had opened the New World to the knowledge of the Old, only to gratify a passion equally senseless and sordid, and to offer up millions of an unoffending race of men to the destruction of the sword, sharpened both by cruelty and rapacity. And yet Columbus was far above his age and country. Enthusiastic, indeed, but sober, religious, and magnanimous; born to great things, and capable of high sentiments, as his noble discourse before Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as the whole history of his life, shows. Probably he sacrificed much to the known sentiments of others, and addressed to his followers motives likely to influence them. At the same time, it is evident that he himself looked upon the world which he discovered as a world of wealth, all ready to be seized and enjoyed.

31. The conquerors and the European settlers of Spanish America were mainly military commanders and common soldiers. The monarchy of Spain was not transferred to this hemisphere, but it acted in it, as it acted at home, through its ordinary means, and its true representative,

military force. The robbery and destruction of the native race was the achievement of standing armies, in the right of the King, and by his authority, fighting in his name, for the aggrandizement of his power and the extension of his prerogatives, with military ideas under arbitrary maxims,—a portion of that dreadful instrumentality by which a perfect despotism governs a people. As there was no liberty in Spain, how could liberty be transmitted to Spanish colonies?

32. The colonists of English America were of the people, and a people already free. They were of the middle, industrious, and already prosperous class, the inhabitants of commercial and manufacturing cities, among whom liberty first revived and respired, after a sleep of a thousand years in the bosom of the Dark Ages. Spain descended on the New World in the armed and terrible image of her monarchy and her soldiery; England approached it in the winning and popular garb of personal rights, public protection, and civil freedom. England transplanted liberty to America; Spain transplanted power. England, through the agency of private companies and the efforts of individuals, colonized this part of North America by industrious individuals, making their own way in the wilderness, defending themselves against the savages, recognizing their right to the soil, and with a general honest purpose of introducing knowledge as well as Christianity among them. Spain swooped on South America like a vulture on its prey. Everything was force. Territories were acquired by fire and sword. Cities were destroyed by fire and sword. Hundreds of thousands of human beings fell by fire and sword. Even conversion to Christianity was attempted by fire and sword.

33. Behold, then, fellow-citizens, the difference resulting from the operation of the two principles! Here, to-day, on the summit of Bunker Hill, and at the foot of this monument, behold the difference! I would that the fifty

thousand voices present could proclaim it with a shout which should be heard over the globe. Our inheritance was of liberty, secured and regulated by law and enlightened by religion and knowledge; that of South America was of power, stern, unrelenting, tyrannical, military power. And now look to the consequences of the two principles on the general and aggregate happiness of the human race. Behold the results, in all the regions conquered by Cortes and Pizarro, and the contrasted results here. I suppose the territory of the United States may amount to one eighth, or one tenth, of that colonized by Spain on this continent; and yet in all that vast region there are but between one and two millions of people of European color and European blood, while in the United States there are fourteen millions who rejoice in their descent from the people of the more northern part of Europe.

34. But we may follow the difference in the original principle of colonization, and in its character and objects, still further. We must look to moral and intellectual results; we must consider consequences, not only as they show themselves in hastening or retarding the increase of population and the supply of physical wants, but in their civilization, improvement, and happiness. We must inquire what progress has been made in the true sciencē of liberty, in the knowledge of the great principles of self-government, and in the progress of man, as a social, moral, and religious being.

35. I would not willingly say anything on this occasion discourteous to the new governments founded on the demolition of the power of the Spanish monarchy. They are yet on their trial, and I hope for a favorable result. But truth, sacred truth, and fidelity to the cause of civil liberty, compel me to say, that hitherto they have discovered quite too much of the spirit of that monarchy from which they separated themselves. Quite too frequent resort is

made to military force; and quite too much of the substance of the people is consumed in maintaining armies, not for defense against foreign aggression, but for enforcing obedience to domestic authority. Standing armies are the oppressive instruments for governing the people in the hands of hereditary and arbitrary monarchs. A military republic, a government founded on mock elections and supported only by the sword, is a movement indeed, but a retrograde and disastrous movement, from the regular and old-fashioned monarchical systems. If men would enjoy the blessings of republican government, they must govern themselves by reason, by mutual counsel and consultation, by a sense and feeling of general interest, and by the acquiescence of the minority in the will of the majority, properly expressed; and, above all, the military must be kept, according to the language of our Bill of Rights,[1] in strict subordination to the civil authority. Wherever this lesson is not both learned and practised, there can be no political freedom. Absurd, preposterous is it, a scoff and a satire on free forms of constitutional liberty, for frames of government to be prescribed by military leaders, and the right of suffrage to be exercised at the point of the sword.

36. Making all allowance for situation and climate, it cannot be doubted by intelligent minds, that the difference now existing between North and South America is justly attributable, in a great degree, to political institutions in the Old World and in the New. And how broad that difference is! Suppose an assembly, in one of the valleys or on the side of one of the mountains of the southern half of the hemisphere, to be held, this day, in the neighborhood of a large city;—what would be the scene presented? Yonder is a volcano, flaming and smoking, but shedding

[1] "The military power shall always be held in an exact subordination to the civil authority and be governed by it."—*Constitution of Massachusetts* (1780), *Declaration of Rights*, Article XVII.

no light, moral or intellectual. At its foot is the mine, sometimes yielding, perhaps, large gains to capital, but in which labor is destined to eternal and unrequited toil, and followed only by penury and beggary. The city is filled with armed men; not a free people, armed and coming forth voluntarily to rejoice in a public festivity, but hireling troops, supported by forced loans, excessive impositions on commerce, or taxes wrung from a half-fed and a half-clothed population. For the great there are palaces covered with gold; for the poor there are hovels of the meanest sort. There is an ecclesiastical hierarchy, enjoying the wealth of princes; but there are no means of education for the people. Do public improvements favor intercourse between place and place? So far from this, the traveller cannot pass from town to town without danger, every mile, of robbery and assassination. I would not overcharge or exaggerate this picture; but its principal features are all too truly sketched.

37. And how does it contrast with the scene now actually before us? Look round upon these fields; they are verdant and beautiful, well cultivated, and at this moment loaded with the riches of the early harvest. The hands which till them are those of the free owners of the soil, enjoying equal rights, and protected by law from oppression and tyranny. Look to the thousand vessels in our sight, filling the harbor, or covering the neighboring sea. They are the vehicles of a profitable commerce, carried on by men who know that the profits of their hardy enterprise, when they make them, are their own; and this commerce is encouraged and regulated by wise laws, and defended, when need be, by the valor and patriotism of the country. Look to that fair city, the abode of so much diffused wealth, so much general happiness and comfort, so much personal independence, and so much general knowledge, and not undistinguished, I may be per-

mitted to add, for hospitality and social refinement. She fears no forced contributions, no siege or sacking from military leaders of rival factions. The hundred temples in which her citizens worship God are in no danger of sacrilege. The regular administration of the laws encounters no obstacle. The long processions of children and youth, which you see this day, issuing by thousands from her free schools, prove the care and anxiety with which a popular government provides for the education and morals of the people. Everywhere there is order; everywhere there is security. Everywhere the law reaches to the highest and reaches to the lowest, to protect all in their rights, and to restrain all from wrong; and over all hovers liberty; that liberty for which our fathers fought and fell on this very spot, with her eye ever watchful and her eagle wing ever wide outspread.

38. The colonies of Spain, from their origin to their end, were subject to the sovereign authority of the mother country. Their government, as well as their commerce, was a strict home monopoly. If we add to this the established usage of filling important posts in the administration of the colonies exclusively by natives of Old Spain, thus cutting off forever all hopes of honorable preferment from every man born in the Western hemisphere, causes enough rise up before us at once to account fully for the subsequent history and character of these provinces. The viceroys and provincial governors of Spain were never at home in their governments in America. They did not feel that they were of the people whom they governed. Their official character and employment have a good deal of resemblance to those of the proconsuls of Rome, in Asia, Sicily, and Gaul; but obviously no resemblance to those of Carver and Winthrop,[1] and very little to those of the

[1] John Carver, first governor of Plymouth Colony; John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts Colony.

governors of Virginia after that Colony had established a popular House of Burgesses.

39. The English colonists in America, generally speaking, were men who were seeking new homes in a new world. They brought with them their families and all that was most dear to them. This was especially the case with the colonists of Plymouth and Massachusetts. Many of them were educated men, and all possessed their full share, according to their social condition, of the knowledge and attainments of that age. The distinctive characteristic of their settlement is the introduction of the civilization of Europe into a wilderness, without bringing with it the political institutions of Europe. The arts, sciences, and literature of England came over with the settlers. That great portion of the common law which regulates the social and personal relations and conduct of men came also. The jury came; the *habeas corpus* came; the testamentary power came; and the law of inheritance and descent came also, except that part of it which recognizes the rights of primogeniture,[1] which either did not come at all, or soon gave way to the rule of equal partition of estates among children. But the monarchy did not come, nor the aristocracy, nor the church, as an estate of the realm. Political institutions were to be framed anew, such as should be adapted to the state of things. But it could not be doubtful what should be the nature and character of these institutions. A general social equality prevailed among the settlers, and an equality of political rights seemed the natural, if not the necessary consequence. After forty years of revolution, violence, and war, the people of France have placed at the head of the fundamental instrument of their government, as the great boon obtained by all their sufferings and sacrifices, the declaration that all Frenchmen are

[1] The right of the eldest son to inherit the undivided estate of his father.

equal before the law.[1] What France has reached only by the expenditure of so much blood and treasure, and the perpetration of so much crime, the English colonists obtained by simply changing their place, carrying with them the intellectual and moral culture of Europe, and the personal and social relations to which they were accustomed, but leaving behind their political institutions. It has been said with much vivacity, that the felicity of the American colonists consisted in their escape from the past. This is true so far as respects political establishments, but no further. They brought with them a full portion of all the riches of the past, in science, in art, in morals, religion, and literature. The Bible came with them. And it is not to be doubted, that to the free and universal reading of the Bible, in that age, men were much indebted for right views of civil liberty. The Bible is a book of faith, and a book of doctrine, and a book of morals, and a book of religion, of especial revelation from God ; but it is also a book which teaches man his own individual responsibility, his own dignity, and his equality with his fellow-man.

40. Bacon and Locke, and Shakespeare and Milton, also came with the colonists. It was the object of the first settlers to form new political systems, but all that belonged to cultivated man, to family, to neighborhood, to social relations, accompanied them. In the Doric phrase of one of our own historians, "they came to settle on bare creation ;" but their settlement in the wilderness, nevertheless, was not a lodgment of nomadic tribes, a mere resting-place of roaming savages. It was the beginning of a permanent community, the fixed residence of cultivated men. Not only was English literature read, but English, good English, was spoken and written, before the ax had made way

[1] "All Frenchmen, of whatever rank and title, are equal before the law."—Constitutional Charter, adopted on the accession of Louis Philippe in 1830.

to let in the sun upon the habitations and fields of Plymouth and Massachusetts. And whatever may be said to the contrary, a correct use of the English language is, at this day, more general throughout the United States than it is throughout England herself.

41. But another grand characteristic is, that, in the English Colonies, political affairs were left to be managed by the colonists themselves. This is another fact wholly distinguishing them in character, as it has distinguished them in fortune, from the colonists of Spain. Here lies the foundation of that experience in self-government which has preserved order, and security, and regularity amidst the play of popular institutions. Home government was the secret of the prosperity of the North American settlements. The more distinguished of the New England colonists, with a most remarkable sagacity and a long-sighted reach into futurity, refused to come to America unless they could bring with them charters providing for the administration of their affairs in this country. They saw from the first the evils of being governed in the New World by a power fixed in the Old. Acknowledging the general superiority of the crown, they still insisted on the right of passing local laws, and of local administration. And history teaches us the justice and the value of this determination in the example of Virginia. The early attempts to settle that Colony failed, sometimes with the most melancholy and fatal consequences, from want of knowledge, care, and attention on the part of those who had the charge of their affairs in England; and it was only after the issuing of the third charter, that its prosperity fairly commenced. The cause was, that by that third charter the people of Virginia, for by this time they deserved to be so called, were allowed to constitute and establish the first popular representative assembly which ever convened on this continent, the Virginia House of Burgesses.

42. The great elements, then, of the American system of government, originally introduced by the colonists, and which were early in operation, and ready to be developed, more and more, as the progress of events should justify or demand, were,—

Escape from the existing political systems of Europe, including its religious hierarchies, but the continued possession and enjoyment of its science and arts, its literature, and its manners;

Home government, or the power of making in the Colony the municipal laws which were to govern it;

Equality of rights;

Representative assemblies, or forms of government founded on popular elections.

VI. 43. Few topics are more inviting, or more fit for philosophical discussion, than the effect on the happiness of mankind of institutions founded upon these principles; or, in other words, the influence of the New World upon the Old.

44. Her obligations to Europe for science and art, laws, literature, and manners, America acknowledges as she ought, with respect and gratitude. The people of the United States, descendants of the English stock, grateful for the treasures of knowledge derived from their English ancestors, admit also, with thanks and filial regard, that among those ancestors, under the culture of Hampden and Sidney[1] and other assiduous friends, that seed of popular liberty first germinated, which on our soil has shot up to its full height, until its branches overshadow all the land.

45. But America has not failed to make returns. If she has not wholly cancelled the obligation, or equalled it by others of like weight, she has, at least, made respectable advances towards repaying the debt. And she admits that,

[1] Algernon Sidney.

standing in the midst of civilized nations and in a civilized age, a nation among nations, there is a high part which she is expected to act, for the general advancement of human interests and human welfare.

46. American mines have filled the mints of Europe with the precious metals. The productions of the American soil and climate have poured out their abundance of luxuries for the tables of the rich, and of necessaries for the sustenance of the poor. Birds and animals of beauty and value have been added to the European stocks; and transplantations from the unequalled riches of our forests have mingled themselves profusely with the elms, and ashes, and druidical oaks of England.

47. America has made contributions to Europe far more important. Who can estimate the amount, or the value, of the augmentation of the commerce of the world that has resulted from America? Who can imagine to himself what would now be the shock to the Eastern Continent, if the Atlantic were no longer traversable, or if there were no longer American productions, or American markets?

48. But America exercises influences, or holds out examples, for the consideration of the Old World, of a much higher, because they are of a moral and political character.

49. America has furnished to Europe proof of the fact that popular institutions, founded on equality and the principle of representation, are capable of maintaining governments able to secure the rights of person, property, and reputation.

50. America has proved that it is practicable to elevate the mass of mankind,—that portion which in Europe is called the laboring, or lower class,—to raise them to self-respect, to make them competent to act a part in the great right and great duty of self-government; and she has proved that this may be done by education and the diffusion of knowledge. She holds out an example, a thousand

times more encouraging than ever was presented before, to those nine tenths of the human race who are born without hereditary fortune or hereditary rank.

51. America has furnished to the world the character of Washington. And, if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to the respect of mankind.

52. Washington! "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen!"[1] Washington is all our own! The enthusiastic veneration and regard in which the people of the United States hold him prove them to be worthy of such a countryman; while his reputation abroad reflects the highest honor on his country. I would cheerfully put the question to-day to the intelligence of Europe and the world, What character of the century, upon the whole, stands out in the relief of history, most pure, most respectable, most sublime? and I doubt not, that, by a suffrage approaching to unanimity, the answer would be Washington!

53. The structure now standing before us, by its uprightness, its solidity, its durability, is no unfit emblem of his character. His public virtues and public principles were as firm as the earth on which it stands; his personal motives, as pure as the serene heaven in which its summit is lost. But, indeed, though a fit, it is an inadequate emblem. Towering high above the column which our hands have builded, beheld, not by the inhabitants of a single city or a single State, but by all the families of man, ascends the colossal grandeur of the character and life of Washington. In all the constituents of the one, in all the acts of the other, in all its titles to immortal love, admiration, and renown, it is an American production. It is the

[1] From the resolutions on the death of Washington drawn up by Henry Lee, and passed by the House of Representatives in December, 1799.

embodiment and vindication of our Transatlantic liberty. Born upon our soil, of parents also born upon it; never for a moment having had sight of the Old World; instructed, according to the modes of his time, only in the spare, plain, but wholesome elementary knowledge which our institutions provide for the children of the people; growing up beneath and penetrated by the genuine influences of American society; living from infancy to manhood and age amidst our expanding, but not luxurious civilization; partaking in our great destiny of labor, our long contest with unreclaimed nature and uncivilized man, our agony of glory, the war of Independence, our great victory of peace, the formation of the Union, and the establishment of the Constitution; he is all, all our own! Washington is ours. That crowded and glorious life,

> "Where multitudes of virtues passed along,
> Each pressing foremost, in the mighty throng
> Ambitious to be seen, then making room
> For greater multitudes that were to come,"—

that life was the life of an American citizen.

54. I claim him for America. In all the perils, in every darkened moment of the state, in the midst of the reproaches of enemies and the misgiving of friends, I turn to that transcendent name for courage and for consolation. To him who denies or doubts whether our fervid liberty can be combined with law, with order, with the security of property, with the pursuits and advancement of happiness; to him who denies that our forms of government are capable of producing exaltation of soul and the passion of true glory; to him who denies that we have contributed anything to the stock of great lessons and great examples; —to all these I reply by pointing to Washington!

VII. 55. And now, friends and fellow-citizens, it is time to bring this discourse to a close.

56. We have indulged in gratifying recollections of the past, in the prosperity and pleasures of the present, and in high hopes for the future. But let us remember that we have duties and obligations to perform, corresponding to the blessings which we enjoy. Let us remember the trust, the sacred trust, attaching to the rich inheritance which we have received from our fathers. Let us feel our personal responsibility, to the full extent of our power and influence, for the preservation of the principles of civil and religious liberty. And let us remember that it is only religion, and morals, and knowledge, that can make men respectable and happy, under any form of government. Let us hold fast the great truth, that communities are responsible, as well as individuals; that no government is respectable which is not just; that without unspotted purity of public faith, without sacred public principle, fidelity, and honor, no mere forms of government, no machinery of laws, can give dignity to political society. In our day and generation let us seek to raise and improve the moral sentiment, so that we may look, not for a degraded, but for an elevated and improved future. And when both we and our children shall have been consigned to the house appointed for all living, may love of country and pride of country glow with equal fervor among those to whom our names and our blood shall have descended! And then, when honored and decrepit age shall lean against the base of this monument, and troops of ingenuous youth shall be gathered round it, and when the one shall speak to the other of its objects, the purposes of its construction, and the great and glorious events with which it is connected, there shall rise from every youthful breast the ejaculation, "Thank God, I—I also—AM AN AMERICAN!"

THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON

A SPEECH DELIVERED AT A PUBLIC DINNER IN HONOR OF THE CENTENNIAL BIRTHDAY OF WASHINGTON, ON THE 22D OF FEBRUARY, 1832

[On the 22d of February, 1832, a company of gentleman assembled in the national capital to celebrate by a public dinner the centennial anniversary of Washington's birthday. Most of them were members of Congress. Mr. Webster, who since 1827 had been senator from Massachusetts, occupied the chair and gave the opening toast, prefacing it by the following remarks.]

I. 1. I RISE, Gentlemen, to propose to you the name of that great man, in commemoration of whose birth, and in honor of whose character and services, we are here assembled.

2. I am sure that I express a sentiment common to every one present, when I say that there is something more than ordinarily solemn and affecting in this occasion.

3. We are met to testify our regard for him whose name is intimately blended with whatever belongs most essentially to the prosperity, the liberty, the free institutions, and the renown of our country. That name was of power to rally a nation, in the hour of thick-thronging public disasters and calamities; that name shone, amid the storm of war, a beacon light, to cheer and guide the country's friends; it flamed, too, like a meteor, to repel her foes. That name, in the days of peace, was a loadstone, attracting to itself a

whole people's confidence, a whole people's love, and the whole world's respect. That name, descending with all time, spreading over the whole earth, and uttered in all the languages belonging to the tribes and races of men, will forever be pronounced with affectionate gratitude by every one in whose breast there shall arise an aspiration for human rights and human liberty.

4. We perform this grateful duty, Gentlemen, at the expiration of a hundred years from his birth, near the place, so cherished and beloved by him, where his dust now reposes, and in the capital which bears his own immortal name.

II. 5. All experience evinces that human sentiments are strongly influenced by associations. The recurrence of anniversaries, or of longer periods of time, naturally freshens the recollection, and deepens the impression, of events with which they are historically connected. Renowned places, also, have a power to awaken feeling, which all acknowledge. No American can pass by the fields of Bunker Hill, Monmouth, and Camden, as if they were ordinary spots on the earth's surface. Whoever visits them feels the sentiment of love of country kindling anew, as if the spirit that belonged to the transactions which have rendered these places distinguished still hovered round, with power to move and excite all who in future time may approach them.

6. But neither of these sources of emotion equals the power with which great moral examples affect the mind. When sublime virtues cease to be abstractions, when they become embodied in human character, and exemplified in human conduct, we should be false to our own nature if we did not indulge in the spontaneous effusions of our gratitude and our admiration. A true lover of the virtue of patriotism delights to contemplate its purest models;

and that love of country may be well suspected which affects to soar so high into the regions of sentiment as to be lost and absorbed in the abstract feeling, and becomes too elevated or too refined to glow with fervor in the commendation or the love of individual benefactors. All this is unnatural. It is as if one should be so enthusiastic a lover of poetry as to care nothing for Homer or Milton; so passionately attached to eloquence as to be indifferent to Tully[1] and Chatham; or such a devotee to the arts, in such an ecstasy with the elements of beauty, proportion, and expression, as to regard the masterpieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo with coldness or contempt. We may be assured, Gentlemen, that he who really loves the thing itself, loves its finest exhibitions. A true friend of his country loves her friends and benefactors, and thinks it no degradation to commend and commemorate them. The voluntary outpouring of the public feeling, made to-day, from the North to the South, and from the East to the West, proves this sentiment to be both just and natural. In the cities and in the villages, in the public temples and in the family circles, among all ages and sexes, gladdened voices to-day bespeak grateful hearts and a freshened recollection of the virtues of the Father of his Country. And it will be so, in all time to come, so long as public virtue is itself an object of regard. The ingenuous youth of America will hold up to themselves the bright model of Washington's example, and study to be what they behold; they will contemplate his character till all its virtues spread out and display themselves to their delighted vision; as the earliest astronomers, the shepherds on the plains of Babylon, gazed at the stars till they saw them form into clusters and constellations, overpowering at length the eyes of the beholders with the united blaze of a thousand lights.

[1] Cicero.

III. 7. Gentlemen, we are at the point of a century from the birth of Washington ; and what a century it has been ! During its course, the human mind has seemed to proceed with a sort of geometric velocity, accomplishing, for human intelligence and human freedom, more than had been done in fives or tens of centuries preceding. Washington stands at the commencement of a new era, as well as at the head of the New World. A century from the birth of Washington has changed the world. The country of Washington has been the theatre on which a great part of that change has been wrought; and Washington himself a principal agent by which it has been accomplished. His age and his country are equally full of wonders ; and of both he is the chief.

8. If the poetical prediction, uttered a few years before his birth, be true; if indeed it be designed by Providence that the grandest exhibition of human character and human affairs shall be made on this theatre of the Western world ; if it be true that

> "The four first acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
> Time's noblest offspring is the last;"

how could this imposing, swelling, final scene be appropriately opened, how could its intense interest be adequately sustained, but by the introduction of just such a character as our Washington ?

9. Washington had attained his manhood when that spark of liberty was struck out in his own country, which has since kindled into a flame, and shot its beams over the earth. In the flow of a century from his birth, the world has changed in science, in arts, in the extent of commerce, in the improvement of navigation, and in all that relates to the civilization of man. But it is the spirit of human freedom, the new elevation of individual man, in his moral,

social, and political character, leading the whole long train of other improvements, which has most remarkably distinguished the era. Society, in this century, has not made its progress, like Chinese skill, by a greater acuteness of ingenuity in trifles; it has not merely lashed itself to an increased speed round the old circles of thought and action; but it has assumed a new character; it has raised itself from *beneath* governments to a participation *in* governments; it has mixed moral and political objects with the daily pursuits of individual men; and, with a freedom and strength before altogether unknown, it has applied to these objects the whole power of the human understanding. It has been the era, in short, when the social principle has triumphed over the feudal principle; when society has maintained its rights against military power, and established, on foundations never hereafter to be shaken, its competency to govern itself.

10. It was the extraordinary fortune of Washington, that, having been intrusted, in Revolutionary times, with the supreme military command, and having fulfilled that trust with equal renown for wisdom and for valor, he should be placed at the head of the first government in which an attempt was to be made on a large scale to rear the fabric of social order on the basis of a written constitution and of a pure representative principle. A government was to be established, without a throne, without an aristocracy, without castes, orders, or privileges; and this government, instead of being a democracy, existing and acting within the walls of a single city,[1] was to be extended over a vast country, of different climates, interests, and habits, and of various communions of our common Christian faith. The experiment certainly was entirely new. A popular government of this extent, it was evident, could be framed only by carrying into full effect the principle of representa-

[1] Such, for example, as the Athenian democracy.

tion or of delegated power; and the world was to see whether society could, by the strength of this principle, maintain its own peace and good government, carry forward its own great interests, and conduct itself to political renown and glory. By the benignity of Providence, this experiment, so full of interest to us and to our posterity forever, so full of interest, indeed, to the world in its present generation and in all its generations to come, was suffered to commence under the guidance of Washington. Destined for this high career, he was fitted for it by wisdom, by virtue, by patriotism, by discretion, by whatever can inspire confidence in man towards man. In entering on the untried scenes, early disappointment and the premature extinction of all hope of success would have been certain, had it not been that there did exist throughout the country, in a most extraordinary degree, an unwavering trust in him who stood at the helm.

IV. 11. I remarked, Gentlemen, that the whole world was and is interested in the result of this experiment. And is it not so? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true that at this moment the career which this government is running is among the most attractive objects to the civilized world? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true that at this moment that love of liberty, and that understanding of its true principles, which are flying over the whole earth as on the wings of all the winds, are really and truly of American origin?

12. At the period of the birth of Washington, there existed in Europe no political liberty in large communities, except in the provinces of Holland, and except that England herself had set a great example, so far as it went, by her glorious Revolution of 1688. Everywhere else despotic power was predominant, and the feudal or military principle held the mass of mankind in hopeless bond-

age. One half of Europe was crushed beneath the Bourbon sceptre,[1] and no conception of political liberty, no hope even of religious toleration, existed among that nation which was America's first ally. The king was the state, the king was the country, the king was all. There was one king, with power not derived from his people, and too high to be questioned; and the rest were all subjects, with no political right but obedience. All above was intangible power, all below quiet subjection. A recent occurrence in the French Chambers shows us how public opinion on these subjects is changed. A minister had spoken of the "king's subjects." "There are no subjects," exclaimed hundreds of voices at once, "in a country where the people make the king!"

13. Gentlemen, the spirit of human liberty and of free government, nurtured and grown into strength and beauty in America, has stretched its course into the midst of the nations. Like an emanation from Heaven, it has gone forth, and it will not return void. It must change, it is fast changing, the face of the earth. Our great, our high duty is to show, in our own example, that this spirit is a spirit of health as well as a spirit of power; that its benignity is as great as its strength; that its efficiency to secure individual rights, social relations, and moral order, is equal to the irresistible force with which it prostrates principalities and powers. The world, at this moment, is regarding us with a willing, but something of a fearful admiration. Its deep and awful anxiety is to learn whether free states may be stable, as well as free; whether popular power may be trusted, as well as feared; in short, whether wise, regular, and virtuous self-government is a vision for the contemplation of theorists, or a truth established, illustrated, and brought into practice in the country of Washington.

14. Gentlemen, for the earth which we inhabit and the

[1] In the hands of Louis XV., of France.

whole circle of the sun, for all the unborn races of man-mind, we seem to hold in our hands, for their weal or woe, the fate of this experiment. If we fail, who shall venture the repetition? If our example shall prove to be one, not of encouragement, but of terror, not fit to be imitated, but fit only to be shunned, where else shall the world look for free models? If this great *Western Sun* be struck out of the firmament, at what other fountain shall the lamp of liberty hereafter be lighted? What other orb shall emit a ray to glimmer, even, on the darkness of the world?

15. There is no danger of our overrating or overstating the important part which we are now acting in human affairs. It should not flatter our personal self-respect, but it should reanimate our patriotic virtues, and inspire us with a deeper and more solemn sense, both of our privileges and of our duties. We cannot wish better for our country, nor for the world, than that the same spirit which influenced Washington may influence all who succeed him; and that the same blessing from above, which attended his efforts, may also attend theirs.

V. 16. The principles of Washington's administration are not left doubtful. They are to be found in the Constitution itself, in the great measures recommended and approved by him, in his speeches to Congress, and in that most interesting paper, his Farewell Address to the People of the United States. The success of the government under his administration is the highest proof of the soundness of these principles. And, after an experience of thirty-five years, what is there which an enemy could condemn? What is there which either his friends, or the friends of the country, could wish to have been otherwise? I speak, of course, of great measures and leading principles.

17. In the first place, all his measures were right in their intent. He stated the whole basis of his own great char-

acter, when he told the country, in the homely phrase of the proverb, that honesty is the best policy. One of the most striking things ever said of him is, that "*he changed mankind's ideas of political greatness.*"[1] To commanding talents, and to success, the common elements of such greatness, he added a disregard of self, a spotlessness of motive, a steady submission to every public and private duty, which threw far into the shade the whole crowd of vulgar great. The object of his regard was the whole country. No part of it was enough to fill his enlarged patriotism. His love of glory, so far as that may be supposed to have influenced him at all, spurned everything short of general approbation. It would have been nothing to him, that his partisans or his favorites outnumbered, or outvoted, or outmanaged, or outclamored, those of other leaders. He had no favorites; he rejected all partisanship; and, acting honestly for the universal good, he deserved, what he has so richly enjoyed, the universal love.

18. His principle it was to act right, and to trust the people for support; his principle it was not to follow the lead of sinister and selfish ends, nor to rely on the little arts of party delusion to obtain public sanction for such a course. Born for his country and for the world, he did not give up to party what was meant for mankind. The consequence is, that his fame is as durable as his principles, as lasting as truth and virtue themselves. While the hundreds whom party excitement, and temporary circumstances, and casual combinations, have raised into transient notoriety, sink again, like thin bubbles, bursting and dissolving into the great ocean, Washington's fame is like the rock which bounds that ocean, and at whose feet its billows are destined to break harmlessly forever.

19. The maxims upon which Washington conducted our

[1] "Mankind perceived some change in their ideas of greatness."—Fisher Ames, *Eulogy on Washington.*

foreign relations were few and simple. The first was an entire and indisputable impartiality towards foreign states. He adhered to this rule of public conduct, against very strong inducements to depart from it, and when the popularity of the moment seemed to favor such a departure. In the next place, he maintained true dignity and unsullied honor in all communications with foreign states. It was among the high duties devolved upon him, to introduce our new government into the circle of civilized states and powerful nations. Not arrogant or assuming, with no unbecoming or supercilious bearing, he yet exacted for it from all others entire and punctilious respect. He demanded, and he obtained at once, a standing of perfect equality for his country in the society of nations; nor was there a prince or potentate of his day, whose personal character carried with it, into the intercourse of other states, a greater degree of respect and veneration.

20. He regarded other nations only as they stood in political relations to us. With their internal affairs, their political parties and dissensions, he scrupulously abstained from all interference; and, on the other hand, he repelled with spirit all such interference by others with us or our concerns. His sternest rebuke, the most indignant measure of his whole administration,[1] was aimed against such an attempted interference. He felt it as an attempt to wound the national honor, and resented it accordingly.

21. The reiterated admonitions in his Farewell Address show his deep fears that foreign influence would insinuate itself into our counsels through the channels of domestic dissension, and obtain a sympathy with our own temporary parties. Against all such dangers, he most earnestly entreats the country to guard itself. He appeals to its patriotism, to its self-respect, to its own honor, to every consideration connected with its welfare and happiness, to

[1] His request that the French minister, M. Genet, be recalled.

resist, at the very beginning, all tendencies towards such connection of foreign interests with our own affairs. With a tone of earnestness nowhere else found, even in his last affectionate farewell advice to his countrymen, he says, "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

22. Lastly, on the subject of foreign relations, Washington never forgot that we had interests peculiar to ourselves. The primary political concerns of Europe, he saw, did not affect us. We had nothing to do with her balance of power, her family compacts, or her successions to thrones. We were placed in a condition favorable to neutrality during European wars, and to the enjoyment of all the great advantages of that relation. "Why, then," he asks us, "why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?"

23. Indeed, Gentlemen, Washington's Farewell Address is full of truths important at all times, and particularly deserving consideration at the present. With a sagacity which brought the future before him, and made it like the present, he saw and pointed out the dangers that even at this moment most imminently threaten us. I hardly know how a greater service of that kind could now be done to the community, than by a renewed and wide diffusion of that admirable paper, and an earnest invitation to every man in the country to reperuse and consider it. Its political maxims are invaluable; its exhortations to love of country and to brotherly affection among citizens, touching; and the solemnity with which it urges the observance of moral

duties, and impresses the power of religious obligation, gives to it the highest character of truly disinterested, sincere, parental advice.

24. The domestic policy of Washington found its pole-star in the avowed objects of the Constitution itself. He sought so to administer that Constitution, as to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. These were objects interesting, in the highest degree, to the whole country, and his policy embraced the whole country.

25. Among his earliest and most important duties was the organization of the government itself, the choice of his confidential advisers, and the various appointments to office. This duty, so important and delicate, when a whole government was to be organized, and all its offices for the first time filled, was yet not difficult to him; for he had no sinister ends to accomplish, no clamorous partisans to gratify, no pledges to redeem, no object to be regarded, but simply the public good. It was a plain, straightforward matter, a mere honest choice of good men for the public service.

26. His own singleness of purpose, his disinterested patriotism, were evinced by the selection of his first cabinet, and by the manner in which he filled the seats of justice and other places of high trust. He sought for men fit for offices, not for offices which might suit men. Above personal considerations, above local considerations, above party considerations, he felt that he could only discharge the sacred trust which the country had placed in his hands, by a diligent inquiry after real merit, and a conscientious preference of virtue and talent. The whole country was the field of his selection. He explored that whole field, looking only for whatever it contained most worthy and distinguished. He was, indeed, most successful, and he

deserved success for the purity of his motives, the liberality of his sentiments, and his enlarged and manly policy.

27. Washington's administration established the national credit, made provision for the public debt, and for that patriotic army whose interests and welfare were always so dear to him; and, by laws wisely framed, and of admirable effect, raised the commerce and navigation of the country, almost at once, from depression and ruin to a state of prosperity. Nor were his eyes open to these interests alone. He viewed with equal concern its agriculture and manufactures, and, so far as they came within the regular exercise of the powers of this government, they experienced regard and favor.

28. It should not be omitted, even in this slight reference to the general measures and general principles of the first President, that he saw and felt the full value and importance of the judicial department of the government. An upright and able administration of the laws he held to be alike indispensable to private happiness and public liberty. The temple of justice, in his opinion, was a sacred place, and he would profane and pollute it who should call any to minister in it not spotless in character, not incorruptible in integrity, not competent by talent and learning, not a fit object of unhesitating trust.

29. Among other admonitions, Washington has left us, in his last communication to his country, an exhortation against the excesses of party spirit. A fire not to be quenched, he yet conjures us not to fan and feed the flame. Undoubtedly, Gentlemen, it is the greatest danger of our system and of our time. Undoubtedly, if that system should be overthrown, it will be the work of excessive party spirit, acting on the government, which is dangerous enough, or acting *in* the government, which is a thousand times more dangerous; for government then becomes nothing but organized party,

and, in the strange vicissitudes of human affairs, it may come at last, perhaps, to exhibit the singular paradox of government itself being in opposition to its own powers, at war with the very elements of its own existence. Such cases are hopeless. As men may be protected against murder, but cannot be guarded against suicide, so government may be shielded from the assaults of external foes, but nothing can save it when it chooses to lay violent hands on itself.

30. Finally, Gentlemen, there was in the breast of Washington one sentiment so deeply felt, so constantly uppermost, that no proper occasion escaped without its utterance. From the letter which he signed in behalf of the Convention when the Constitution was sent out to the people, to the moment when he put his hand to that last paper in which he addressed his countrymen, the Union,—the Union was the great object of his thoughts. In that first letter he tells them that, to him and his brethren of the Convention, union appears to be the greatest interest of every true American; and in that last paper he conjures them to regard that unity of government which constitutes them one people, as the very palladium of their prosperity and safety, and the security of liberty itself. He regarded the union of these States less as one of our blessings, than as the great treasure-house which contained them all. Here, in his judgment, was the great magazine of all our means of prosperity; here, as he thought, and as every true American still thinks, are deposited all our animating prospects, all our solid hopes for future greatness. He has taught us to maintain this union, not by seeking to enlarge the powers of the government, on the one hand, nor by surrendering them, on the other; but by an administration of them at once firm and moderate, pursuing objects truly national, and carried on in a spirit of justice and equity.

31. The extreme solicitude for the preservation of the Union, at all times manifested by him, shows not only the opinion he entertained of its importance, but his clear perception of those causes which were likely to spring up to endanger it, and which, if once they should overthrow the present system, would leave little hope of any future beneficial reunion. Of all the presumptions indulged by presumptuous man, that is one of the rashest which looks for repeated and favorable opportunities for the deliberate establishment of a united government over distinct and widely extended communities. Such a thing has happened once in human affairs, and but once; the event stands out as a prominent exception to all ordinary history; and, unless we suppose ourselves running into an age of miracles, we may not expect its repetition.

32. Washington, therefore, could regard, and did regard, nothing as of paramount political interest but the integrity of the Union itself. With a united government, well administered, he saw that we had nothing to fear; and without it, nothing to hope. The sentiment is just, and its momentous truth should solemnly impress the whole country. If we might regard our country as personated in the spirit of Washington, if we might consider him as representing her, in her past renown, her present prosperity, and her future career, and as, in that character, demanding of us all to account for our conduct, as political men or as private citizens, how should he answer him who has ventured to talk of disunion and dismemberment? Or how should he answer him who dwells perpetually on local interests, and fans every kindling flame of local prejudice? How should he answer him who would array State against State, interest against interest, and party against party, careless of the continuance of that *unity of government which constitutes us one people?*

VI. 33. The political prosperity which this country has attained, and which it now enjoys, has been acquired mainly through the instrumentality of the present government. While this agent continues, the capacity of attaining to still higher degrees of prosperity exists also. We have, while this lasts, a political life capable of beneficial exertion, with power to resist or overcome misfortunes, to sustain us against the ordinary accidents of human affairs, and to promote, by active efforts, every public interest. But dismemberment strikes at the very being which preserves these faculties. It would lay its rude and ruthless hand on this great agent itself. It would sweep away, not only what we possess, but all power of regaining lost, or acquiring new possessions. It would leave the country, not only bereft of its prosperity and happiness, but without limbs, or organs, or faculties, by which to exert itself hereafter in the pursuit of that prosperity and happiness.

34. Other misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of constitutional liberty? Who shall frame together the skilful architecture which unites national sovereignty with State rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, how-

ever, will flow over them than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw, the edifice of constitutional American liberty.

35. But let us hope for better things. Let us trust in that gracious Being who has hitherto held our country as in the hollow of his hand. Let us trust to the virtue and the intelligence of the people, and to the efficacy of religious obligation. Let us trust to the influence of Washington's example. Let us hope that that fear of Heaven which expels all other fear, and that regard to duty which transcends all other regard, may influence public men and private citizens, and lead our country still onward in her happy career. Full of these gratifying anticipations and hopes, let us look forward to the end of that century which is now commenced. A hundred years hence, other disciples of Washington will celebrate his birth, with no less of sincere admiration than we now commemorate it. When they shall meet, as we now meet, to do themselves and him that honor, so surely as they shall see the blue summits of his native mountains rise in the horizon, so surely as they shall behold the river on whose banks he lived, and on whose banks he rests, still flowing on towards the sea, so surely may they see, as we now see, the flag of the Union floating on the top of the Capitol; and then, as now, may the sun in his course visit no land more free, more happy, more lovely, than this our own country!

Gentlemen, I propose—

"THE MEMORY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON."

FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

["As the time for electing the chief magistrate approached, the anxiety of the public respecting the person in office, seemed to increase. In States where the electors are chosen by the people, names of great political influence were offered for their approbation. The strong hold which Washington had taken of the affections of his countrymen, was, on this occasion, fully evinced. In districts where the opposition to his administration was most powerful, where all his measures were most loudly condemned, where those who approved his system possessed least influence, the men who appeared to control public opinion on every other subject found themselves unable to move it on this. Even the most popular among the leaders of the opposition were reduced to the necessity of surrendering their pretensions to a place in the electoral body, or of pledging themselves to bestow their suffrage on the actual President. The determination of his fellow-citizens had been unequivocally manifested, and it was believed to be apparent that the election would again be unanimous, when he announced his resolution to withdraw from the honors and the toils of office.

"Having long contemplated this event, and having wished to terminate his political course with an act which might be at the same time suitable to his own character and permanently useful to his country, he had prepared for the occasion a valedictory address, in which, with the solicitude of a person who, in bidding a final adieu to his friends, leaves his affections and his anxieties for their welfare behind him, he made a last effort to impress upon his countrymen those great political truths which had been the guides of his own administration, and could alone, in his opinion, form a sure and solid basis for the happiness, the independence, and the liberty of the United States."—Marshall, *Life of Washington*, vol. ii, p. 395.]

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your

thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country, and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained

for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me, still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced

the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to the grave as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence, that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual, that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained, that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, —that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present to offer to your solemn contemplation and to recommend to your frequent review some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsels. Nor can I forget as an encouragement to it your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.[1]

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

[1] Referring probably to his *Circular Letter Addressed to the Governors of all the States on Disbanding the Army* (1783).

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity in every shape; of that very liberty, which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of

joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation envigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest, as one Nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion

with any foreign power,[1] must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined in the united mass of means and efforts cannot fail to find greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce; but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment.

[1] Three years before, the French minister, Genet, had sought to enlist the aid of the Western frontiersmen in an attack upon the British and Spanish possessions in America.

With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity.[1] Will it not

[1] The treaty with Spain secured free navigation of the Mississippi; that with Great Britain, the surrender of the frontier posts, which the British held in violation of the articles of peace. Both treaties were ratified in 1795.

be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former one[1] for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combi-

[1] The Articles of Confederation, under which the government was administered from 1781 to 1788.

nations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions, that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a

country, that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or

more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the doors to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their

respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the

instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it;[1] avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their

[1] "There is nothing which will so soon produce a speedy and honorable peace as a state of preparation for war."—Letter to James McHenry, September 12, 1782.

duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.[1]

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred

[1] The attempt to raise money for the Federal government by an excise law led in 1794 to the so-called "Whiskey Rebellion" in Western Pennsylvania. The insurrection was put down by force.

or an habitual fondness,[1] is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill-will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favourite nation,) facility

[1] Alluding to the prevalent hatred of England and foolish adulation of everything French.

to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by our justice shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. (I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy.) I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may

safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed—in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit; but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against

the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you, and to the world. To myself the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793,[1] is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.[2]

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred,

[1] A proclamation of neutrality in the war between Great Britain and France.

[2] In the words of the Proclamation: "The duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers."

without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortune.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favourite object of my heart and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, September 17, 1796.

GENERAL NOTE

A. SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDENTS

Webster's Orations

[References to the text will be made by means of the following abbreviations: 1 *B. H.* = "First Bunker Hill Oration;" 2 *B. H.* = "Second Bunker Hill Oration;" *C. W.* = "Character of Washington." A number following the abbreviation indicates the paragraph referred to; thus, 1 *B. H.* 26 = "First Bunker Hill Oration," paragraph 26.]

1. *Editions of Webster.*—The standard edition of Webster's works is that published by Little, Brown, and Co., in 1851, and since then frequently republished. In the first volume are contained the three orations included in the present edition.

The first edition of the "First Bunker Hill Oration" was published by Cummings, Hilliard, and Co., of Boston, almost immediately after it was delivered. It appeared as a pamphlet of forty pages, with the title, "An Address at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Bunker Hill Monument." Before the close of the year it had gone through five editions. Since then this oration has been many times republished.

2. *Text of this Edition.*—The text is substantially that of the edition of 1851. The editor has ventured but one correction. In 2 *B. H.* 32 of the original text occurs the sentence "Spain stooped on South America like a vulture on its prey." The word "stooped" has been changed to "swooped."

3. *References on Webster's Biography.*—The best single book on Webster, if but one book can be obtained, is H. C. Lodge's "Daniel Webster," in the American Statesmen Series (Houghton, Mifflin, and Co.; price, $1.25). Higher as authority, but more elaborate and not so readily obtainable, is the life of Webster by

George Ticknor Curtis, published in 1869. The biographical memoir by Edward Everett, prefixed to the edition of 1851, is full and accurate, but, being ponderously oratorical in style, is not adapted to the needs of the young. Webster's "Autobiography," published, together with his private correspondence, in 1857, is highly interesting, but unfortunately closes with the year 1817.

Of the essays and addresses touching upon the life and character of Webster, the most readable are perhaps H. N. Hudson's "Address on the 100th Anniversary of Webster's Birth" (Ginn and Co.), and the article "Webster," in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Theodore Parker's "Discourse on Webster" and Choate's "Discourse at Dartmouth College" are contemporary estimates of the man, uttered too soon after his death to be free from partiality and exaggeration. A calmer survey of Webster's character is that of James Parton in the *North American Review*, January, 1867, republished in "Famous Americans of Recent Times." With Choate's "Discourse" should be compared the "Eulogy by G. S. Hillard," and the "Oration pronounced on Webster Commemoration Day, June 28, 1882, at Dartmouth College," by Thos. F. Bayard.

Several volumes of anecdotes and recollections appeared during Webster's life-time or immediately after his death. Among the earliest are Chas. Lanman's "Private Life of Webster," S. L. Knapp's "Memoir of the Life of Webster," C. W. March's "Reminiscences of Congress" and "Daniel Webster and his Contemporaries," and S. P. Lyman's "The Public and Private Life of Daniel Webster." More recently has appeared Peter Harvey's "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster," a book of great interest, although pronounced by so good an authority as Mr. Lodge thoroughly untrustworthy.

Upon the death of Webster, a flood of sermons and memorial addresses deluged the country. Most of them have little value and indeed are not available for consultation save in great public libraries. A few, however, are worthy of remembrance, and among them may be mentioned T. W. Higginson's "Elegy without Fiction," reprinted in broadside from the *Boston Daily Spy*,

Thos. Starr King's "Death of Webster," John Weiss's "A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Daniel Webster," and C. A. Bartol's "The Hand of God in the Great Man." With the last may be compared a sermon delivered by Dr. Bartol thirty years later, "Webster as a Man and Statesman."

The following articles in magazines are of value: *Harper's Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 85 (illustrated), vol. lxiv., p. 428; *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xxiv., p. 262 (by Goldwin Smith); *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. lxxxii., p. 181; *Westminster Review*, January, 1853; *North American Review*, vol. xli., p. 231 (by Everett); *Century*, vol. vii., p. 721, vol. xxiv., p. 709 (with fine portraits as frontispieces). In *Education*, vol. vi., p. 323, is an article on Webster as a schoolmaster.

A rapid survey of Webster's life and work to the year 1813 may be found in McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," vol. iv., pp. 213-216.

4. *Critical Estimates.*—Estimates of Webster's literary and oratorical powers will be found in almost all of the works to which reference has been made. Criticisms of especial interest are E. P. Whipple's "Webster as a Master of English Style," prefixed to the "Great Speeches of Webster" (also in his "American Literature"), and the article, "A Glance at Webster," by Judge Mellen Chamberlain in the *Century Magazine*, September, 1893, p. 709. The student may also consult with profit Richardson's "American Literature," vol. i., pp. 221-227, and Nichol's "American Literature," pp. 114-129.

5. *Portraits of Webster.*—The best likeness of Webster at the age of forty is said by Judge Chamberlain to be the bust by Powers (reproduced in Webster's "Works," vol. ii.); the best likeness of him in his later years is said by the same authority to be the engraving in the *Century Magazine*, September, 1893. There is also a fine portrait in the same magazine for March, 1885. The following works contain portraits of various degrees of excellence: Harvey's "Reminiscences;" Lanman's "Private Life of Webster;" Knapp's "Memoir;" Lyman's "Public and Private Life of Webster;" March's "Reminiscences of Congress;" "Works of Webster" (ed. of 1851), vols. i., ii., iv.; Appleton's

"Cyclopædia of American Biography;" T. W. Higginson's "Larger History of the United States," p. 445 (a fine reproduction of Healy's painting in Faneuil Hall); W. C. Wilkinson's "Webster: An Ode" (large paper edition); and *Harper's Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 85. The old daguerreotypes of Webster turn up now and then in unexpected places.

6. *Poems referring to Webster.*—Webster is the subject of a poem by O. W. Holmes, written in 1856 on Webster's birthday, and of two of Whittier's best poems,—"Ichabod!" and "The Lost Occasion." Lowell has an allusion to him in the "Biglow Papers," No. ix. The most elaborate poetical composition of which Webster is the subject is "Webster: An Ode," by Professor W. C. Wilkinson (Chas. Scribner's Sons).

7. *Parallel Reading.*—The only speeches by Webster which properly belong to the same class as those in the present collection are the Plymouth Oration ("First Settlement of New England"), "The Landing at Plymouth," "Adams and Jefferson," the remarks on the death of Judge Story and Mr. Mason, and the speech on laying the corner-stone for the addition to the Capitol, in 1851.

Specimens of commemorative oratory by others, worthy to be compared with these, are singularly rare. But two can be said to rival the first Bunker Hill address. These are the Funeral Oration put into the mouth of Pericles by the historian Thucydides (in Book ii.; Jowett's translation is the best), and the Gettysburg address by President Lincoln.

Compositions dealing with some of the same subject-matter, though belonging to a different type of oratory, are Burke's "Account of the European Settlements in America," "Speech on American Taxation," and "Speech on Conciliation with America."

8. *Quotations from the Classics.*—Webster quotes from Virgil's "Aeneid," vi., 726 (1 *B. H.* 19), from Horace's "Odes," I., ii., 45 (1 *B. H.* 26), from Homer's "Iliad," xvii., 729, in Pope's translation (1 *B. H.* 35), and from Ovid's "Metamorphoses," ii., 13 (2 *B. H.* 28).

9. *Quotations from English Writers.*—Webster quotes once

from Milton's "Paradise Lost," v., 310 (1 *B. H.* 13), and once (*C. W.* 8) from Bishop Berkeley's "On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America" (omitting, however, the oft-quoted line, "Westward the course of empire takes its way").

10. *Quotations from American Writers.*—American writers are twice quoted (2 *B. H.* 40; *C. W.* 17).

11. *Biblical Allusions.*—Expressions drawn from the language of the bible, or suggested by scriptural passages, are found in two places (1 *B. H.* 6; *C. W.* 13). Other expressions which echo biblical language more or less distinctly are scattered up and down these orations. Let the pupil search them out.

12. *Historical References: General.*—Should the reader desire to identify a name or a place, or to refresh his memory regarding some event, he is recommended to make use of the following reference-books. They should not be permitted, however, to supplant consecutive reading of standard histories, such as are cited in §§ 14–22 below.

(1) The Century "Cyclopædia of Names" contains short, concise articles on persons and places. It is edited with scholarly care and is as accurate as so large a work can be expected to be.

(2) J. F. Jameson's "Dictionary of United States History, 1492–1884" (Puritan Pub. Co., Boston), though designed for popular use, is on the whole pretty well edited. Since the book is in one moderate-sized volume, most of the articles are of necessity short.

(3) A recent work is, J. N. Larned's "History for Ready Reference" (5 vols., Springfield, Mass.). It is a compilation of selections from standard authors, arranged under appropriate topics. Its greatest value is as a guide to historical literature.

(4) Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates" (Harper) contains brief articles on an immense number of facts and events.

13. *References to American History: Before the Revolution.*—For a description of the voyage of Columbus the reader may consult Irving's "Life of Columbus," Bancroft's "History of America," and Higginson's "Young Folks' History," "Young Folks' American Explorers," and "Larger History of the United States." Higginson and Bancroft are authorities also on the ex-

plorations and settlements in North America of the Spanish, the French and the English. On the Cabots and the Pilgrim Fathers, the latest views may be obtained by reading Higginson's "Larger History," chaps. iv. and vi., and by consulting the elaborate discussion in Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. ii. On the House of Burgesses, see Frothingham's "Rise of the Republic," pp. 16, 17, and Bancroft's "History," vol. i. On the French and Indian wars a fresh treatment is to be found in Higginson's "Larger History of the United States," chap. vii., under the title of "The Hundred Years' War."

14. *The Revolution.*—Of the events leading to the revolution, that are mentioned by Webster, such as the writs of assistance, the trial of the British soldiers, the change in the government of Massachusetts and the Boston Port Bill, readable accounts may be found in Fiske's "American Revolution," vol. i., pp. 1–99; J. R. Green's "Short History of the English People," chap. x., section ii., Bancroft's "History," vol. iii., and Higginson's "Larger History," chap. ix. More popular in character is B. J. Lossing's "Field-Book of the Revolution." An elaborate treatment of the Revolutionary period, adapted to the needs of the advanced student, may be had in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History," vol. vi.

15. *Battle of Bunker Hill.*—The most simple and picturesque account of the battle is in the Rev. E. E. Hale's "Story of Massachusetts;" the most detailed, in Frothingham's "History of the Siege of Boston." In Fiske's "American Revolution," vol. i., pp. 136–146, and Bancroft's "History," vol. iv., chaps. 38–40, the narrative is made interesting, and in Lossing's "Field-Book of the Revolution" it is given the advantage of unstinted illustration and word-painting.

16. *Joseph Warren.*—A day in the life of Joseph Warren is the subject of a graphic narrative in Higginson's "Larger History," pp. 247–250. The engraving of Warren which accompanies it reveals in some degree the secret of the love and confidence which this extraordinary man inspired in his contemporaries.

17. *The Monroe Doctrine.*—A brief statement of the meaning and origin of this measure may be found in Higginson's "Larger History," p. 403. The most detailed consideration of the subject is that given by President Gilman in his "Life of James Monroe," chap. viii. See also Webster's "Speech on the Panama Mission."

Washington's Farewell Address

1. *Editions.*—The Address first appeared in print in "Claypoole's Daily Advertiser," Philadelphia, September 19, 1796. The original manuscript is now in the Lenox Library, New York. For an interesting account of the circumstances of publication see W. C. Ford's "Writings of Washington," vol. xiii., pp. 277–279. In the same volume beginning on p. 277 will be found a reprint of the original, accompanied by Hamilton's final draft. The share of each of the collaborators is discussed at length in Horace Binney's "Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address;" for a briefer statement see the *Forum*, vol. xxvii., p. 145.

2. *Text of this Edition.*—The text of this volume follows the Lenox manuscript, but is modernized in spelling, capitalizing, and punctuation.

3. *Biography.*—The best life of Washington, in moderate compass, is the work by H. C. Lodge (in two volumes) in the American Statesmen Series. Woodrow Wilson's "Life of Washington," in a more popular vein, is excellent reading. See also the lives by Irving, Marshall and Sparks. For other references consult Channing and Hart's "Guide to American History."

The complete writings of Washington have been carefully edited, in fourteen volumes, by W. C. Ford.

For an anti-Federalist, that is, an unfavorable view of Washington, consult A. B. Hart's "Source-Book of American History," p. 181, and "American History Told by Contemporaries," vol. iii., pp. 265, 269.

4. *Portraits.*—Notes on portraits of Washington, with many reproductions, will be found in the following numbers of the

Magazine of American History: vol. xi., p. 513; vol. xii., p. 550; vol. xix., p. 273; vol. xx., p. 485; vol. xxi., p. 296; vol. xxix., p. 275. Consult also *Harper's Magazine*, vol. xciii., p. 378; the *Century Magazine*, vol. xxi., p. 593, and *McClure's Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 291.

B. SUBJECTS FOR ESSAYS

The following subjects relate to Webster and the three orations in this volume. The teacher will not find it difficult to frame parallel subjects, if he so desires, upon Washington and the "Farewell Address."

1. *The Life of Webster.*—[For the sources of Webster's biography, see § 3, p. 97.] 1. Webster's parents. 2. Webster's school-days. 3. Webster at Dartmouth. 4. Webster as a schoolmaster. 5. How Webster refused the clerkship. 6. Webster's Fourth of July orations. (For the Hanover speech see Loring's "Hundred Boston Orators," p. 683.) 7. How Webster was influenced by Mason. 8. How Webster won his law-suits. 9. Webster's politics. (On political parties at the beginning of the century, see Higginson's "Larger History," chaps. xiv.-xvi.) 10. Webster's first appearance in Congress. 11. Webster's attitude toward the war of 1812. 12. Story of the Dartmouth College Case. 13. The scene in the Supreme Court at the trial of this case. (See Lodge's "Webster," p. 89, and Choate's "Address at Dartmouth.") 14. How was this case connected with the Constitution? 15. Effect of the Plymouth Oration. 16. What did Webster accomplish in his third congressional term? 17. Webster's reputation at the time the "First Bunker Hill Oration" was delivered. 18. Events in Webster's life between the first and the second Bunker Hill address. 19. Circumstances of the "Reply to Hayne." 20. Occasion of the "7th of March Speech." 21. Effect of this speech. 22. Was Webster lacking in moral courage? 23. Why Webster was not nominated to the presidency. 24. Webster's friends. 25. Public offices held by Webster.

2. *Personal Characteristics.*—1. Describe a portrait of Webster. 2. Compare two portraits of Webster. 3. Compare a por-

trait of Webster with a portrait of Burke, of Pitt, of Fox, of Wendell Phillips, of Sumner, of Lincoln. 4. Webster's gestures. 5. Character of Webster's voice. (See Curtis's "Life of Webster," vol. i., p. 249, note.) 6. Anecdotes illustrating the power of Webster's personality.

3. *Webster's Opinions.*—1. Was Webster a protectionist or a free-trader? 2. What claim had Webster to the title "Defender of the Constitution?" 3. What were Webster's views on slavery? 4. What did Webster think of paper money? 5. Webster's idea of a national bank. 6. Webster's opinion of the Monroe Doctrine. 7. Webster's opinion of classical literature. 8. Why Webster was opposed to secession. 9. Webster's view of the value of knowledge. 10. Webster's optimism. 11. Webster's conception of patriotism.

4. *The First Bunker Hill Oration.*—1. The scene during the address, described by an eye-witness. 2. Impressions of the speech related by a survivor of the battle. 3. Character of the audience. 4. Divisons and subdivisions of the oration. 5. Purpose of the introduction. (Compare with the introductions of the other orations.) 6. Appropriateness of the conclusion. (Compare with the conclusions of the other orations.) 7. Is Lodge (p. 124) right in calling this oration "a succession of eloquent fragments"? 8. What parts may be most easily omitted? 9. Show that the second (or any other) paragraph cannot be omitted without disturbing the continuity and proportion of the whole. 10. What is the effect of putting the sixth paragraph first? If this change is made, what other changes will be called for? 11. Why is not the description of the battle in paragraph 12 inserted after paragraph 20? 12. Function of paragraph 23. 13. Management of parallel construction. 14. Employment of the topic-sentence. 15. Cases of inverted structure and reasons for them. 16. According to Professor Wendell ("English Composition," p. 271), "there is no mere technical device for strengthening style more apt to be of value than the deliberate weakening of passages you have written in your very strongest way." Detect, if you can, passages in this oration in which Webster, in order to strengthen his style, has deliberately weakened.

it. 17. In paragraph 7 why does Webster say "*labor* may look up" instead of "the *laborer* may look up?" Which is the more effective form of statement? 18. Webster's use of "only." 19. Webster's use of "and which," "but which," without a preceding relative. 20. Webster's use of the word "respectable." (See the *Nation* for July 4, 1895.) 21. Discuss the changes made in the later text and show in what respect they are improvements. 22. To what peculiarities of arrangement is due the rhythm of Webster's prose?

5. *Historical Topics: First Bunker Hill Oration.*—1. The true story of Columbus. 2. In what sense were the English Colonies founded on "human knowledge" (par. 4)? 3. Who were the founders of the English Colonies, and by what motives were they animated? 4. Why may not the reference in paragraph 4 to "another ancient and early colony," be to the Virginia settlement on the James River? 5. What was the size and importance of our navy in 1825 (par. 38)? 6. Changes in European politics brought about by the French Revolution (par. 9). 7. Origin and meaning of the Monroe Doctrine. 8. Description of the Battle of Bunker Hill by an eye-witness in Boston. Description by a participant in the Battle (see appendix to Frothingham's "Siege of Boston"). 9. What part did the ships take in the battle? 10. Part taken by Prescott? by Putnam? Outcome of the battle? 11. Description of the portrait of Gen. Warren in Higginson's "Larger History," p. 247. 12. Why was Warren regarded at this time with so much love and veneration? 13. Results of the battle of Trenton? of Monmouth? of Yorktown? of Camden? of Bennington? of Saratoga? 14. How was "The act for altering the government of the Province" (par. 18) carried into effect? 15. Provisions and purpose of the Boston Port Bill. 16. Origin and constitution of the Continental Congress. 17. What were the tidings from Lexington and Concord (par. 19)? 18. What appeals, resolutions, and addresses (par. 21) had been made by the Colonies? 19. Part taken by Gen. Lafayette in the Revolutionary war. 20. How is the use of the word "incredible" (par. 25) appropriate in its application to the diligence of Prescott? 21. Part taken in the Revolution by Greene? by Gates? by Sullivan? *by Lincoln?*

6. *Historical Topics: Second Bunker Hill Oration.*—1. Is Webster's explanation (pars. 12, 20) of the motives of the battle the true one? 2. The effect of news of the battle on the various colonies. 3. Attempts at colonizing by the English, under Henry VII. (par. 26). 4. The enterprises and adventures of Raleigh (par. 27). 5. Story of the voyage of the Mayflower (par. 28). 6. Difference between those who settled New England and those who settled Virginia. 7. How did the French and Indian wars serve to unite the interests of the Colonies (par. 29)? 8. Nature and importance of the Virginia House of Burgesses (pars. 38, 41). 9. Powers of the governors of the early New England Colonies. 10. Meaning and history of the *habeas corpus*. 11. In what colonies were the rights of primogeniture recognized (par. 39)? 12. Washington's education (par. 53). 13. Influence of Washington in the framing of the Constitution.

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